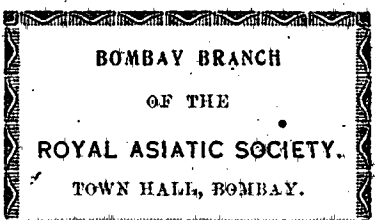
00037612

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

VOL. VI.

96

97

98

105

106

107

99

100

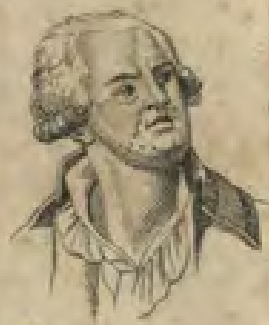
101

108

109

110

102


103

104

111

112

113

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

FROM

HIS MARRIAGE TO HIS DEATH:

Founded on a Variety of Authentic Documents, furnished to the Author, before the Revolution, by many eminent Statesmen and Ministers; and on the Secret Papers discovered, after the 10th of August 1792, in the Closets of the King at Versailles and the Tuileries:

BY JOHN LEWIS SOULAVIE,

THE ELDER,

COMPILER OF THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL DUKE OF RICHELIEU, AND OF THE MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF ST. SIMON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES:

Accompanied with Explanatory Tables, and One Hundred and Thirteen Portraits.

37612

VOL. VI.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

By J. Crowder and E. Hemsted, Warwick-Square.

1802.

Sou / Lewis
37612

CONTENTS

OF

THE SIXTH VOLUME.

PLATE VI.

(To face the Title Page of Vol. VI.)

96. GENSONNE'.—97. Vergniaux.—98. Péthion.—99. Fauchet.—100. Gorsas.—101. Rabaut-St.-Etienne.—102. D'Orleans (*Egalité.*)—103. Danton.—104. Marat.—105. Camille-des-Moulins.—106. Cloots.—107. Chaumette.—108. Chabot.—109. Fouquet-Tinville.—110. Carrier.—111. Vadier.—112. Couthon.—113. Robespierre.

SIXTH EPOCH;

Or the Birth of the Dauphin, to the Death of M. de Maurepas, and the Influence of the Queen in the Affairs of State.

CHAP. I. Three Historical Periods of the Life of Maria Antoinetta considered as Dauphiness; as Queen of France prior to the Birth of a Dauphin; as Mother of the Heir Apparent, and the Object of Hatred to the Partizans of the French Revolution, from the 14th of July, 1789—Enumeration of the different Factions formed against her before their breaking out—The Party of the deceased Dauphin against her, consisting of the Princes, the Ministers, and some of the Nobles—She gains

PAGE

the Count d'Artois and the Duke of Chartres to her side—Finds herself almost forsaken at Court—Maurepas, who dreads the Return of the Duke of Choiseul, and the Count de Vergennes raises up enemies against her—The Queen's first struggle for Power—Conduct of the King on that Occasion—Character of the Queen—She forgets her own Dignity—Her Imprudence—Resignation of Madame de Noailles, her Lady of Honour—Attachment of the Queen to her Family. - - - - -

CHAP. II. In what manner the Foreign Powers employed their Agents to the Discredit of Maria Antoinetta—Interests of England—of Prussia—of the House of Savoy—and the secondary Powers of the Empire—She is considered by these Nations as the Guardian, at Versailles, of a fatal Treaty which was equally odious to all - - - - - - 13

CHAP. III. Joseph II. visits France—He suffers his jealousy to appear—He encreases the dislike and suspicions of the French against the Queen - 20

CHAP. IV. The Queen gains the Affection of the King her Husband—That Prince's Moderation—She opposes a chosen Society, to the Discontent of the Court—She raises the Vaudreuils and the Polignacs—She promotes them to Posts of Confidence, and honours them with Dignities of State—Resentment of the Nobles—Portraits of the Duchess of Polignac, and of Diana her Sister-in-law - - - - - - - - - - - - - 22

CHAP. V. Birth of a Dauphin—Second Era of the Queen's Life—Her great Influence - - - - - 31

PAGE

CHAP. VI. Continuation of the Picture of Maria Antoinetta's Life—Of Fashions; and of the important Revolution they experienced in our Commerce through the Queen's Influence—Joseph II. is accused of influencing her, that he might once more re-establish his Manufactories in the Netherlands to the Prejudice of the French Manufactories of Silk—The Queen grows weary of the ancient royal Palaces—The Courtiers fall off at Versailles—She removes nearer to the Capital by the Purchase of St. Cloud—Impropriety of this Purchase—She grows also weary of the Fashions of France, and its Manufactures—The prosperous State of her Brother's Manufactories, and their Produce brought into France—She is accused of being an Austrian, even in the Revolution she effects in the Fashions and Manufactures—The Complaints of the Lionese—They petition Madame Adelaide—Morals of the Queen; she performs Plays in her private Apartments - - - 33

CHAP. VII. Morals of Maria Antoinetta, Queen of France—Nocturnal Walks on the Terrace, or in the Park; and the Revels of Trianon—Anecdotes 41

CHAP. VIII. Causes of the Enmity between the Queen and the Duke of Chartres, since Duke of Orleans—That Prince is desirous of obtaining the Post of Admiral, and distinguihes himself at the Fight off Quessant—The Queen turns the official Account of the Engagement into Ridicule, by means of satirical Verses, &c.—Favourable Reception from the Parisians—That Prince crowned at the Opera—He swears he will never be the Subject

PAGE

of the Children of Coigny—The Duke of Orleans boasts of his having rejected first the Queen's Overtures—He explains his Reasons - - - 48

CHAP. IX. Strange Deceptions practised on the Duke of Orleans by a Stranger—They are related by that Prince—Credulity of the Times, upon the Subject of Somnambulism and Apparitions—The Duke of Orleans conducted by a pretended Magician to the Plain of Ville-Neuve-Saint-George, to learn his Destiny - - - - - - - 54

CHAP. X. Continuation of the Picture of the Morals of the French Nation prior to the Revolution—Its partiality for hidden Things, Mysteries and Allegories—The Contest between the Academy of Sciences, and the Empirics, and false Philosophers—Doctor Mesmer, the Founder of a Scientific School for Empirics—Grandees of the Realm, distinguished Magistrates, Persons learned in the Sciences, become his Disciples—The Court of Versailles oppose to the Doctrines of Mesmer the Experiments of Franklin, Darcet, Lavoisier, Bailly, Guillotin, Leroi, de Bory, &c. - - - - - 59

CHAP. XI. The Affair of the Diamond Necklace—The House of Bourbon persecutes the Remains of the House of Valois—An Archduchess pursues with Rigour the last Branch of the ancient Sovereigns of Bretany—The Scandal of such a Proceeding—Progress of the Hatred conceived against the Queen—Implacability of that Princess—Fresh Details relative to that Circumstance - - - - - 64

CHAP. XII. On the Death of M. de Maurepas—

PAGE

He receives the Authority from the vigorous Hands of Aiguillon, Maupeou and Terray—He transmits it at his Death to Maria Antoinetta—Character of his Ministry - - - - - - - - - - - 82

CHAP. XIII. View of the Republic of Letters in France prior to the Revolution, and the first Assembly of the Notables—Academies succeeding to Universities develop the human Mind by the Force of Experiment, and Neglect of the Arts of Argumentation—To the Art of painting Nature, which prevailed in the Reign of Lewis XIV., succeeds that of Reasoning under those of Lewis XV. and Lewis XVI.—Literature under Lewis XIV. is the Support and Ornament of the State—Under Lewis XVI. it is its Destruction—Deprive Lewis XIV. of his great Literary Characters, the Royal Authority remains intire—Take away, in idea, those of the Reign of Lewis XVI. viz. Rousseau, Raynal, Voltaire, &c. and the State experiences no Revolution—Peculiar Characteristic of the Abbey Raynal's Writings—Picture of the Literary Societies of the Capital - - - - - - - 85

CHAP. XIV. Of the interior Disputes which agitated the Republic of Letters, towards the Period of the Revolution, concerning religious Tenets—Confession of Malesherbes, and Raynal - - - 94

CHAP. XV. Of the Disputes and Factions existing in the Interior of the Clergy of France—Their Publications injure their own Body—Portraits of the religious and philosophic Party immediately before the breaking out of the Revolution. - - 98

PAGE

CHAP. XVI. The prevailing Morals of the Court and the City, in the two Extremes of Civil Society towards the Approaches of the Revolution—The Queen's Reputation, authorises the great Almoner of France to accede to an improper Rendezvous—Women of notorious Fame find means by their Influence to destroy the Reputation of several virtuous Ladies - - - - - - - - - - - 103

SEVENTH EPOCH;

Or the Administration of M. de Calonne, and the first Assembly of the Notables.

CHAP. I. Portrait of M. de Calonne—Summary of his Administration—Immorality of his Agency—It increases the Resentment of the French against the Queen - - - - - - - - - - - - 109

CHAP. II. M. Calonne's Memorial to Lewis XVI.—To avert the Storm that threatens him, he promises to restore the State of the Finances by Means of a vast Project - - - - - - - - - - 113

CHAP. III. Calonne's Memorial to the King on the Necessity of convening the Notables, on the Time of calling them together, and the Mode of forming the Assembly - - - - - - - - 116

CHAP. IV. Causes of the Commercial Treaty between England and France—Conduct of France towards England at the Time that M. de Vergennes is informed that there is a Secret Deficit of a Hundred Millions - - - - - - - - - - - - 128

PAGE

CHAP. V. Conduct of England towards France, at the Period of the Discovery of the Deficit and the Convening of the Notables—Conduct of the Opposition and the Ministerial Party - - - - 131

CHAP. VI. Death of the Count de Vergennes—The Opening of the Assembly of Notables—Manifestation of an immense Deficit - - - - - - 143

CHAP. VII. Mr. Necker's Conduct on the Publication of the Deficit—The Court is interested in throwing its Causes back on former Periods of the State—Mr. Necker opposes this Opinion—A Pamphlet of his appears without a Title-page—The great Uneasiness of the Court—In what Manner it terminates the Disputes between Mr. Necker and M. de Calonne—The latter is dismissed, and the former banished to the Distance of twenty Leagues from Versailles—The Compte Rendu and the little Book without a Title become the Guides of the Notables—Lomenie, Archbishop of Toulouse, appointed President of the Council of Finances—Dissolution of the Notables - - 150

CHAP. VIII. Description of the Court after the Deficit was proved—The King's Behaviour on that Occasion—Behaviour of the Queen, of Monsieur, of the Count d'Artois, and the Duke of Orleans—The Conduct of the Nobles—All Parties prejudiced against the Queen, and the Favourites 161

CHAP. IX. Continuation of the Debates against the Court, occasioned by the Deficit—An account of the Disputes of the Court and the Parliaments—The Court demands a Stamp Duty—The Parlia-

PAGE

ments call for the Statement of the Receipts and the Expenditure, as well as the Convocation of the States-General—The King demands a general Land-tax, calculated to do away all exclusive Privileges—The Parliaments are reinforced by the Accession of the Peers of the Realm, and join in soliciting the Convocation of the States—Parliament banished to Troyes—The Archbishop of Toulouse brings about a feigned Accommodation—The Return of the Parliament—The Court withdraws its Edicts—Proposes a progressive Loan of four hundred Millions—Royal Session—Exile of the Duke of Orleans, prime Agent of all the Disorders, of the Abbé Sabbatier, of M. d'Epréménil, and M. de Freteau—The Court paves the way for the Abolition of the Parliaments and for the Restoration of a Plenary Court—The Palace besieged—Flight of the two Ministers—Rejoicings of the Mob—Murders in the streets of Mesleé and St. Dominique - - - - - - - - - - 168

CHAP. X. Last Remonstrances of the Clergy of France to Lewis XVI. on the Liberties and Rights of the Nation—On the Illegality of the plenary Court—On the Illegality of annulling the Parliaments—History of the national Rights with respect to the King—Property the Basis of all Rights in France—Imposts were only gratuitous Gifts in France, and Donations of Courtesy—Portrait of Mr. Necker, and those infected with the Anglomania, by the Clergy - - - - - - 187

CHAP. XI. Insurrection of the Nobility in the Provinces, and the State-countries—Bearn, the

PAGE

Cradle of Henry IV. becomes the rallying Post—Character of the Bearnese—Insurrection of Bretany—Deputation of the Twelve Members—Their Imprisonment in the Bastile—The Deputation of Fifty-two Members—Rising of the Nobility of that Province—Commotions of the People and the Highlanders in Dauphiné—The Alarm Bell causes that Province to rebel—Meeting of the Three States of the Province at the Castle of Vizile—The Court becomes sensible of the Penury of the Royal Coffers—It dismisses Loménie with a Cardinal's Hat, and recals Mr. Necker - - - - - - 196

CHAP. XII. Portraits of M. Loménie de Brienne, successively Archbishop of Toulouse and Sens, and Prime Minister to Lewis XVI. during the last Year of the Ancient French Monarchy—He is depicted by his own Hand both before and during his Administration - - - - - - - - - 211

CHAP. XIII. Portrait of Cardinal de Brienne, drawn by himself, and extracted from his Manuscript Memoirs—He refutes the Author of the Memoirs of Marshal Richelieu, on the Subject of his retiring from Office and receiving the Cardinal's Hat—He sets forth, that the Austrian Ambassador is the intermediate Author of his Removal, and of Mr. Necker's Promotion—Portrait of the Queen and her Favourites, by the Ex-minister, Cardinal de Brienne—Portrait of Mr. Necker—Lewis XVIth's Opinion of the Genevese Minister—Anecdotes on his second Elevation - 228

CHAP. XIV. State of the Human Understanding in France, just before the Revolution—Multipli-

PAGE

city of Mesmer's Sect—The Somnambulists—Their Conversations and Amusements with Cæsar, Henry IVth., Semiramis, Sappho, &c. - - - 251

EIGHTH EPOCH.

Second Administration of Mr. Necker, or Fall of the French Monarchy.

CHAP. I. Picture of the political State of the Nation at the Period of Mr. Necker's Appointment to the Ministry, in August, 1788—The Nobility, Clergy, Parliament, the State-Countries, and the Tiers-Etat unanimously leagued against the Queen, the Favourites, the Deficit, and the Abuses of the ancient Régime—The Promise of the States-General, and the Dismission of Loménie and Lamoignon moderate this Insurrection—Mr. Necker brings forward the Tiers-Etat in Opposition to the preceding Insurrection—He transforms them into a legislative Power, and by augmenting their relative Force, destroys that of the Monarchy - - - - - - - - - 257

CHAP. II. Rennmeration of Facts, general Observations and Consequences for the Year 1788, the last of the French Monarchy—Phenomena relative to the Fall of the Monarchy and the Commencement of the Revolution - - - - 274

CHAP. III. Behaviour of the King, who had long perceived the Decline of the Monarchy—Mr. Necker the real Founder of Democracy in France

PAGE

—He treats the People of France as a wandering Tribe, who have neither separate Lands to preserve, nor Worship nor Dignities to respect—Novelty in Europe of this singular System—Mr. Necker accomplishes in France the Plans invented by the Genevese Representatives banished from their Country by the Martial Law of M. de Vergennes, in 1782, received by England, and sent by her into France to disseminate the Principles of a Revolution - - - - - - - - - - 279

CHAP. IV. Exposition of the Democratic Principles which influenced the first revolutionary Movements in the Months of October, November, and December, 1788, and prepared Mr. Necker's Report—Exposition of the general Principles disseminated in 1788, and followed since by the different revolutionary Families—Nature of the Tiers-Etat according to the Principles of the Times - - - - - - - - - - - 285

CHAP. V. Events which occurred immediately before the Dissolution of the ancient Monarchy—Invincible Repugnance of the Majority of the Nobility and Clergy to unite in one Chamber with the Tiers-Etat—Division of the Court—The Party of the Princes and principal Men oppose the Union—The Party of Mr. Necker require it—Agitation and Indecision of Lewis XVI.—Mr. Necker attaches himself to the Party of the Union—The Queen adopts the opposite Party—Regal Sitting, at which the Union is proscribed—Mr. Necker threatens to retire—The People assemble in a Mob to retain him—The regal Sitting passes

PAGE

for a Court Intrigue—Anecdote on the Portrait of Charles I. in the King's Cabinet—Anecdote on the Print of that Monarch's Execution—Insensibility of Lewis XVI. - - - - - - - 296

CHAP. VI. Character and Portrait of the public Opinion cultivated by Mr. Necker during his second Administration—His public Opinion, during both his Administrations, was never that of the principal Men, the Clergy and Nobility, nor of the Monarchy? but was ever the revolutionary Opinion of the Times—In 1789 it was the Opinion of the Calonists, Constituents, Girondins, Montagnards, and Cordeliers, revolutionizing together—Representation of the mechanical Origin and Decomposition of this public Opinion—Unpopularity of Mr. Necker at the Time of his Retreat; he is the Sport of all Parties—He retires - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 302

CHAP. VII. Sketch of the Mechanism of the ancient Government; such as the King received it from his Ancestors—The King supreme Head of the Constitution, Administration, and Preservation of the Monarchy—How he regulated the Clergy, Nobility, and Tiers-Etat—Hierarchy in the different Orders of the State—The Monarchy was the Result of it—Anarchical Convulsions among the Institutions, in which the Order of the Hierarchy was not observed—Government nourished the Rivalry between the Bodies of the State—It nourished another in the Interior of each Body or Authority—Different Conditions of the Crown with the several Authorities—These Dis-

PAGE

sentions contributed to the Maintenance of Power —Anomalous Limits of the Dioceses, military Provinces, and Intendancies, another Source of Authority—France has ever defended and sought Liberty - - - - - - - - - - - - 313

CHAP. VIII. Continuation of the Mechanism of the French Monarchy previous to 1789—Of the Gallican Church, considered as a preserving Authority for the Regulation of Manners—Of the reigning Dynasty considered as the Guardian of the executive Power—France was the best constituted of all the Monarchies existing in Europe in the Year 1789 - - - - - - - - - - - 330

NINTH EPOCH;

Or the ephemeral Establishment of the constitutional Monarchy of 1789.

CHAP. I. Analytical and methodical Table of the Mechanism of the French Revolution, from the 14th of July to the Establishment of the Consulate—The Revolution composed of several Revolutions or Falls of Government—Revolutions of the Constituents, Girondins, Mountaineers, Thermidorians, and of the directorial Power—They are preceded and conducted by the co-existing Hostilities of a revolutionary and counter-revolutionary Opposition—The Transactions of July 14, August 10, May 31, Thermidor 10, and Vendemiaire 13, change the Government into Opposition, and the Opposition into Government—The

PAGE

conquering Parties, on those Days, massacre, proscribe, imprison, transport, plunder, and degrade the vanquished—The whole Nation subjected to new Oaths, new Forms of Worship, new Laws, and a new Constitution - - - - - - - - 341

CHAP. II. Recapitulation of Anecdotes relating to the Nullity and Versatility of the King's Character—Versatility during a Revolution destroys every Kind of Government, and saves Individuals—Character of the Constituent National Assembly—Party of Lafayette—Party of Orleans—Developement of the Character of Orleans and of the Court in this Situation of Affairs - - - - - 358

CHAP. III. Interests and Character of the Members of the Constituent National Assembly—They seize the Reins of Government—The Government pass into the Opposition—Portrait of the National Assembly by Lewis XVI., the Cassander of the Nation—He reproaches them with destroying the Monarchy—He declares, that the metaphysical Systems introduced into the Government are incapable of becoming Rules of Administration—The King's Flight—He is taken and brought back to Paris—He accepts the Constitution—Twelve Constituents, crowned with Laurel at the Convent of Jacobins, continue the Revolution—The revolutionary Orleanists and the Republicans shot at the Altar of the Country—Amnesty - - - 368

CHAP. IV. The legislative Assembly and the Jacobins of 1792—Continuation of the Debates between the two Parties—Feuillan Party—Jacobin Party—Views of England and other foreign

PAGE

Powers—Cause of the War of 1792—Brissot conducts the Affair of the Declaration of War—Perplexities of the Court—In their Terror they name a Jacobin Minister—Declaration of War against the Emperor—England introduces some Genevese, her Pensioners, into the Administration, and into the Intrigues of Government—Fall of the Jacobin Minister—The Party of the discarded Administration excite the People of the Suburbs to revolt, and introduce them to the King's Apartment, where his Majesty receives the red Cap - - - - - - - - - - 379

CHAP. V. The 20th of June, 1792—Continuation of the Inquiries into the Characters of the King and Queen—Conference between M. de Chambonas and the Author of these Memoirs—Lacroix sells the Gironde to the King, which Party proposes, through the Medium of Brissot, the Adjournment of the Forfeiture of the Crown—Division between the Brissotins and Mountaineers—Insurrection of the Sections—Transactions of the 10th of August—Thuriot proposes domiciliary Visits and the Destruction of the royal Statues - 396

CHAP. VI. Transactions of the 2d of September, 1792, prepared in England—Marat executes and carries them on, in Quality of a Genevese Revolutionist, allowed, by the public Act and Diplomatic Capitulation of the English Government, a Stipend for conducting the French Revolution, after the gradual Depreciation of D'Yvernois, Duroveray, and Clavières - - - - - - - 414

TENTH AND LAST EPOCH;

Or the French Republic and the Death of Lewis.

PAGE.

CHAP. I. Immediate Cause of the Declaration of the Republic on the Day of the Opening of the National Convention—Disposition of the Factions in that Respect—Conference between M. de Montmorin and the Author of these Memoirs at the Committee of Inspection, where the former was conducted, and whence he was transferred to the Abbey—The Republic declared on the 22d of September, 1792 - - - - - - - - - 423

CHAP. II. Trial of Lewis XVI.—Opinion of the Party of Moderates on the Fate of the King—Opinions of the Mountain; composed of Republicans, Orleanists, the Faction of Foreigners, and Anarchists - - - - - - - - - - - - - 450

CHAP. III. Sentiments of Lewis under these Circumstances - - - - - - - - - - - - - 480

CHAP. IV. Death of Lewis XVI. - - - - - - 485

CHAP. V. Historical Examination of the Power of Parties against the Revolution—Table of the Increase, Stability, and Term of the French Revolution - - - - - - - - - - - - - 499

CHAP. VI. Historical Examination of the Force of the Republic—Table of the Instability of its Partisans and Factions - - - - - - - - - 495

CONCLUSION - - - - - - - - - - - - - 501

ANSWER of the Author of these Memoirs to the Abbé Barruel - - - - - - - - - - - - 507

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

SIXTH EPOCH;

OR

The Birth of the DAUPHIN, *to the Death of* M. *de* MAUREPAS, *and the Influence of the* QUEEN *in the Affairs of State.*

The queen, without either the rights or duties of royalty, enjoyed considerable influence in all public affairs, in consequence of her genius, taste, manners, connexions, and above all, her intimacy with the sovereign.—Hurled from the pinnacle of earthly grandeur to the lowest state of human adversity, she looked, unappalled, on the dreadful vicissitude.

MONTJOYE's *History of Maria Antoinetta*, page 3.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

CHAP. I.

Three Historical Periods of the Life of Maria Antoinetta considered as Dauphiness; as Queen of France prior to the Birth of a Dauphin; as Mother of the Heir Apparent, and the Object of Hatred to the Partizans of the French Revolution, from the 14th of July 1789—Enumeration of the different Factions formed against her before their breaking out—The Party of the deceased Dauphin against her, consisting of the Princes, the Ministers, and some of the Nobles—She gains the Count d'Artois and the Duke of Chartres to her side—Finds herself almost forsaken at Court—Maurepas, who dreads the Return of the Duke of Choiseul, and the Count de Vergennes raises up enemies against her—The Queen's first struggle for Power—Conduct of the King on that Occasion—Character of the Queen—She forgets her own Dignity—Her imprudence—Resignation of Madame de Noailles, her Lady of Honour—Attachment of the Queen to her Family.

WE have observed in the preliminary discourse at the beginning of the second volume of these Memoirs, that the history of Maria Antoinetta was intended to be divided into four principal periods.

The first comprehends the interval from her marriage to the death of Louis XV. During

this space of time, the young dauphiness, solely engrossed by the dissipation and frivolous amusements of her age, acquired neither influence nor credit. Her conduct was remarkably reserved and prudent. She gained the reputation of great moderation and forbearance on seeing the duke of Choiseul, the promoter of her marriage, sent into exile, and the duke of Aiguillon raised to his office. The former she had been taught by Maria Theresa to consider as her guide; the latter as her enemy. She suffered besides, without complaint or betraying any jealousy, on finding herself placed in a sort of competition with Madame Dubarry, and frequently even out-rivalled by that favourite.

But scarcely had the second period of the queen's life begun, scarcely had Lewis XV. breathed his last, when that princess manifested her joy at her emancipation, by the banishment of madame Dubarry, the dismission of the duke of Aiguillon, the recal of the duchess of Grammont to court, and the revocation of the letters *de cachets* against M. de Choiseul, and M. de Praslin. She was extremely desirous of reinstating these ministers at the head of the king's affairs, but was prevented from executing her design by the patriotism of Lewis XVI., who was intirely guided on this occasion by some memoirs left by the late dauphin on the national interest in regard to the house of

Austria and the duke of Choiseul; and whenever the queen expressed her wishes on this subject, the monarch always replied with equal firmness and disapprobation—"Let me hear no more of this man."

From this time began to be formed the two contrary factions that divided the court. We observe that which the queen aimed at establishing, for her own advantage, continually set at variance by the artifice of the old minister Maurepas, who, foreseeing, that, should the preponderance of the princess be once fixed and acknowledged, the duke of Choiseul's return would inevitably prove the destruction of his power, devised a plan to frustrate all her measures. Like a wily courtier, he secretly excited against her, madame Louisa, who, though restricted to a monastery, was in league with all the most bigotted of the clergy; he animated likewise the zeal of the king's aunts, who were strongly attached to the memory of their brother the late dauphin. Monsieur, a person of a very grave and strong artful cast, little known in society, shunning all noisy pleasures, tormented by the thirst of concealed ambition: Madame, and the countess d'Artois, her sister, burning with female jealousy at the queen's superior beauty and rank, augmented the number of her enemies. In the cabinet, M. de Vergennes considered himself as obliged to confirm the king in those principles of reserve, which that

monarch found recommended in the deceased dauphin's memoirs against the ambition and power of the house of Austria. The queen soon perceived how much she was misplaced at the French court; and yet it was this court she intended to direct, on an occasion in which she was unfortunately reduced to the necessity of attaching herself to persons, too notorious for their immorality and spirit of independence: such were the count d'Artois, and the duke of Chartres, who became her warmest partizans from the moment she was queen of France.

At this period she found herself in such a situation, that every party, and every order of the state, began insensibly to unite, to prevent the reorganization of the duke of Choiseul's faction, which had been so powerful under Lewis XV. M. de Choiseul on this occasion secretly guided and directed the whole. The contrary party was inspired and animated by Maurepas. The queen had the patience to oppose separately the king's aunts, the countess d'Artois, madame Louisa, Maurepas, Malesherbes, Vergennes, &c. Her designs and interest were in direct opposition to those of each of these personages. The greater part treated her with the most profound respect; several attempted to remonstrate; and all, to fulfil their duty, were obliged to resist her sentiments and inclinations. Madame, the king's sister, shewed

her some attachment. Lewis XVI. alone was intirely devoted to her both by duty and sentiment. This prince gave an example to his whole kingdom of every social and private virtue, especially conjugal fidelity, held in such contempt by his ancestors, particularly by the last sovereigns of his race; but the queen's reputation was neither so brilliant nor so well established as his.

The affair of etiquette on her marriage, not a little contributed to augment the number of Maria Antoinetta's enemies. We have observed in the first volume of the present work, that the high nobility of the French court refused to accede to an act of complaisance in favour of the princes of the house of Lorraine, whom, Maria Theresa, had desired should dance, as princes of her family, immediately after the princes of the blood royal of France, at the marriage. The queen, offended at the refusal of the nobility, never forgot, that on the most remarkable day of her life, the noblemen and ladies of the court had even preferred absenting themselves from the ceremony, and withdrawing from the ball, rather than relinquish their right of precedency to the princes of the imperial house. This haughty behaviour was in direct opposition to those claims to sovereignty, which her mother had instilled into her mind, to the prejudice of all the European powers. She secretly formed those projects

of revenge, which in the end became so fatal to her: she conceived the greatest contempt for the court ceremonial and its rigid etiquette; she fancied herself an object of concealed dislike; she believed there was no sincerity in the homage that was paid her, an homage which she had hoped to enjoy without contradiction or exception at the court of France; but which in reality she found only in the count d'Artois.

A stranger in a court, where she believed herself neither beloved nor esteemed, is it astonishing that she should still consider herself as archduchess, that she should conceive the project of forming a court of her own, and that she should either neglect or endeavour to displace those nobles who held the principal posts in her household? Instead of the ceremonial of the queens of France, which was strict, though not despotic, she substituted the familiar manners of a citizen's family, that she might abandon herself to a free and dissipated life; and she would even take an airing or pay visits, accompanied by one or two ladies of her choice, rather than those appointed by the state to attend her. She would without ceremony dine with the princes, go out at all hours even in the evening, to walk in the park, and would diligently and publicly elude her husband's search after her, by sleeping out of her

own chamber, in contempt of the established rules prescribed to the two apartments. An ecclesiastic, respectable for his age, his virtues, and his reputation in a branch of the healing art, being sent for by her, found her stretched at her length in a bath: the old man drew back; but she called him to her, questioned him, and he was compelled to remain in a situation, where he might admire the most perfect frame that nature had ever formed. It was in this attitude that she had her picture drawn, with so little regard to decency, that the public, shocked at the indelicacy of the painting, obliged the government to remove it from the exhibition.

Madame de Noailles, lady of honour to the queen, easily foreseeing that her mistress, who had already so many enemies at court, would lose all respect and credit by continuing a conduct of this nature, attempted to reason with her, and repeatedly set before her view observations and examples taken from history. These remonstrances irritated the princess, who fancied she made herself interesting, and, as a proof of her wit, she gave to her adviser the nickname of *madame Etiquette*. This appellation, which was in fact dishonourable to the queen, and honourable to madame de Noailles, remained with her; and very shortly, the post of lady of honour being no longer tenable, madame de Noailles resigned, and left it to ladies of less

rigid principles. This reſignation encreased the number of the queen's enemies, and drew upon her the hatred of a house very powerful by its alliances, and illustrious by the services it had rendered the state. This family, disgusted by the court, was distinguished afterwards in the first scenes of the revolution, and joined with the Aiguillons, and others of the nobility, whom the queen had either treated with contempt, or had disregarded.

The queen did not feel herself defeated in the affair of the ball, on the day of her marriage. Her brother Maximilian arrived at Versailles, and demanded, in concert with the queen, the right of precedency over the princes of the blood. The house of Austria sent its archdukes to the court of France, to endeavour to discover what might be expected from an alliance, which the court of Vienna had thought so highly honourable to France. All the princes of the blood opposed the brother's pretentions. The queen attempted to mollify them, and enter into arrangements with them; but the princes became more intractable, and conceived the moſt fatal prejudice againſt her for her predilection in favour of the court of Vienna. The queen had then recourse to entreaties: but the princes were inflexible; and retired to their country residences, to avoid an open rupture.

The secret enmity and rivalry between her and

the princes of France then became evident; but she still preserved connections with the duke of Chartres, and some degree of consideration and esteem for the duke of Orleans, and the duke of Penthiévre, whose age, joined to the behaviour and polite distance they observed in her presence, inspired her with equal reserve and complaisance.

In other respects the queen did not deserve the public hatred by any abuse of power: she was artful, but she was neither wicked nor tyrannical. She has been compared to Catharine of Medicis: this is an insult; an injustice. She wished to be thought tolerant to the opinions and conduct of others; but she also demanded that others should be tolerant towards her. She possessed a flexibility of character which encouraged the hope of her becoming one day a true French woman; but it was natural, that, being a stranger at the court of France, and deprived of the affection both of its princes and ministers, having as yet no child, and being married to a prince of an apoplectic constitution, that she should wish to reserve to herself a place of retreat in Austria. M. de Maurepas, instead of depriving her of those sentiments of respect and attachment, to which many essential qualities justly entitled her, ought to have engaged all hearts in her favour: but the preference she openly avowed for M. de Choiseul was an insuperable obstacle to their

union, which strengthened the party of the old court of the dauphin, and animated the contest of the two factions, till, in the course of a few years, it broke out into a revolution.

In the mean time, the inconsiderate conduct of the queen, and her total disregard of the dignity of royalty, became daily more remarkable. The famous horse-races, and bets of the princes, are fresh in the memory of every one. The queen on her side also engaged in scenes of this kind, and commanded a jackass race. The populace of Paris, accustomed to the sight of the queen only when surrounded with all the pomp of grandeur, hastened in crowds to see her mounted on an ass. One day happening to slip off, she thought that she displayed on the occasion much ready wit, and made an observation that would ever be memorable, when she said, "Go and fetch madame de Noailles: she will inform us what the laws of etiquette demand, when a queen of France does not know how to sit on her jackass."

CHAP. II.

In what manner the Foreign Powers employed their Agents to the Discredit of Maria Antoinetta—Interests of England—of Prussia—of the Houſe of Savoy—and the secondary Powers of the Empire—She is considered by theſe Nations as the Guardian, at Verſailles, of a fatal Treaty which was equally odious to all.

FRANCE is a sovereignty on which all the nations of Europe fix their attention. The strength of her central position obliges them to study the chief springs of her government. Never before had any other archduchess been in so perilous a situation; never had any queen of France, except the widow of Henry IV., who died of want in exile, from causes similar to those which occasioned the misfortunes of Maria Antoinetta, been so great an object of jealousy to all the powers of Europe. Maria Leczinska, the daughter of a dethroned monarch, was formidable to no one. The virtuous wife of Lewis XIV. possessed no influence.

Maria Theresa, finding that her kingdom, since the establishment of the house of Bourbon in France, was in such a state of decay, that every war deprived her of a sovereignty or a province; determined to conciliate this ambition and im-

placable enmity by an alliance with so dangerous an adversary. Hence arose the treaties of 1756, and 1758; and as, at the French court, there existed a violent faction against this political connection, she concerted measures to strengthen her cause at Versailles against the opposite party. Though she was endued with a superior understanding, she could not foresee that she was sacrificing her daughter. The page of history afforded no similar example. She had resolved, by marrying one of the archduchesses to the grandson of Louis XV., to bind the hands of France. She resolved also to weaken the league which united the different branches of the house of Bourbon; and by similar alliances concluded at Naples and Parma, with princes of the same family, she found means to relax the ties of a compact, become, for the house of Bourbon, a new source of strength and power.

Thus, Maria Antoinetta was in fact, at Versailles, no more than the protector of a treaty injurious to France, advantageous to Austria, and contrary to the interest of all the European powers; as I shall now proceed to demonstrate.

England, who has nourished a project of revenge from the time that Lewis XVI. had sided with America, had no other means of employing the Austrian forces against France but by breaking the treaty. The court of Berlin, too prudent

to weaken France, remained inaccessible to every proposition of a war; and no other power was able to furnish George III. with troops against her. It is worthy of remark, that England during the revolution continued neutral, till the Brissotins declared war against Austria, and even till the period of the queen's being arrested; events which convinced England that the treaty of 1756 was broken. Thus we see that Maria Antoinetta, during the most brilliant period of the reign of Lewis XVI. was an obstacle to the hostile intention of England against France. She it was, that confined that power within the narrow limits of its own island; and restricted Great-Britain to the strength of its own population, with which alone, the English can never make war upon the continent.

Prussia, on the other hand, considered Maria Antoinetta as an insurmountable bar to every treaty either offensive or defensive with the court of France. As long as the confederacy of 1756 continued, she could not fail to be an object of hatred. She reminded him of the formidable coalition of France and Austria, formed to annhihilate the Prussian monarchy. It was not certain that if the duke de Choiseul should supplant M. de Vergennes, the emperor would not take advantage of the decrepitude of Frederic, who was sinking fast into the grave, to avenge himself for the peace of 1768, so inglorious both by sea

and land. The king of Prussia's secret agents had orders to attend to all her motions, to dive into the sentiment of her partizans, and to watch over the interests of their monarch, which the alliance between Maria Theresa and France would probably have overturned, had it not been for the genius and good fortune of Frederic.

The house of Savoy had not yet recovered from the shock it had sustained from the treaty of 1756. Prior to the union of France with Maria Theresa, the court of Turin was accustomed to observe the relative position of the courts of Versailles and Vienna. In the event of a war between those two courts, that of Turin suffered her alliance to be courted a long while by the belligerent powers, and at length joined that which promised her the most advantage. But the present league between France and Austria disconcerted the artful and prudent policy of that state. The marriage of the two princesses, one to Monsieur and the other to the Count d'Artois, were insufficient to insure her the friendship of France. The open disputes between the queen, Madame, and the countess d'Artois, were not of a nature to calm these apprehensions; especially when they rose to such an height, that the two sisters on one hand, and the queen on the other, divided the court into two female cabals, whose whole employment consisted in injuring each other by in-

venting love intrigues, and divulging their several adventures to their mutual dishonour.

The republics of Genoa and Venice engaged in no intrigue of party; their agents, however, at Paris, clearly shewed in the present circumstance, how much their different governments were embarrassed and undetermined, at seeing the two colossal powers of Europe, France and Austria, united against the feeble ones. What treaty was there to protect the weak from the confederacy of the strong? The dismemberment of Poland had begun in 1772.

The smaller protestant states of Germany equally apprehensive of their destiny, endeavoured to enter into a treaty with Frederic for their mutual defence against the grand catholic league. The small catholic German states likewise suffered by so vast a combination of power. Sweden no longer found in France her warm friend and ancient ally, while the French-Neapolitan party shared the general dread, at perceiving the family connection between the courts of Madrid and Naples by degrees dissolved by the intrigues of the young Caroline, who assumed the haughty manners of the descendant of the Cæsars, its ancient sovereigns.

Thus the queen of France, fixed at Versailles in the midst of these several interests, was the

known protector of the diplomatic treaty of 1756, which counteracted the ambition and revenge of the greater, and repressed the genius, the interests, and the policy of the secondary powers.

The foreign diplomatic corps contributed, after the birth of the first dauphin, to affect the queen's credit. Examine, even now, the former embassadors sent to Versailles prior to 1789; and observe their opinion of this unfortunate princess. England never ceased to depreciate her by means of its agents; the first authors of the revolution of 1788 and 1789, united their efforts to those of the English emissaries, and those of Orleans; and while the princes, the high nobility, and the ministers of state joined against the queen, the foreign embassadors secretly engaged in the cabal.

The treaty of 1756, considered under this point of view, is one cause of the revolution. It was in opposition to this treaty and its favourers that England directed it. I may add, that the future alliances of the republic will endanger its peace, if the government should be mistaken in its future attachments. The nation to which France shall unite herself will not be able to defend her from the country of the oppressed and offended powers. The monarchy has sunk under the evils arising from a misjudged union. The natural alliances of France can alone protect her, and reſtore the

glorious times of Henry IV. and of Lewis XIII. and XIV.

The agents of the foreign powers were in their turn observed and restrained at Versailles, by the queen's vigilance. In their official correspondence with their respective courts, they all ascribed to the queen's influence their failure in any of their negociations. All Europe was persuaded, that France tolerated the partition of Poland under Lewis XVI., as it had done during the preceding reign, because Maria Antoinetta influenced her husband. All Europe attributed M. de Vergennes' inaction during the invasion of Bavaria to the queen also, and ascribed to the same cause Maximilian's establishing himself in Cologn. The secondary powers at length even imputed to her preponderancy, and to the manner she assumed towards the minister of Lewis XVI., the errors and absurdities of the French cabinet. It is easy to judge what were the sentiments of so many different cabinets, awed by the fear of Maria Antoinetta's power, and with what delight they united to depreciate, and deprive her of the influence she enjoyed. Some future day will bring to light the secret machinations that led to her destruction.

CHAP. III.

Joseph II. visits France—He suffers his jealousy to appear—He encreases the dislike and suspicions of the French against the queen.

THE emperor's journey soon augmented the suspicions both of France and Europe, and weakened the consideration which was due to Maria Antoinetta. Every individual, every faction, every nation was persuaded, that Joseph II. went in person to Versailles, only to instruct his sister how to act. The king's indecision of character was already known. The queen's intentions were fathomed. It was asserted, that from 1775, this princess aimed at governing France, and every one was convinced, that in that event France would be under the dominion of Austria. M. de Vergennes was himself alarmed at the projects he suspected Joseph capable of forming; and so great was his fear, that on each journey of the emperor, he was careful to represent to Lewis XVI. a variety of plans and designs, which he imagined the successor of Charles V. might have formed, at the same time intimating to Lewis XVI. the answer he ought to give to Joseph.

This presumptuous prince, thirsting for new possessions and renown, daily committed fresh

imprudences. Unlike his brother Maximilian, he was not contented with an empty parade; he penetrated into the manufactories, ports, and dock-yards. He demanded instruction and plans. At Brest and at Havre, he even ventured a request, that tended to advance his own maritime commerce, to the prejudice of the French nation. The provincial merchants, and artists, discovered, that he visited France rather in the quality of a jealous, envious neighbour, than as brother-in-law to Lewis XVI. At Paris he was more popular and more reserved. His sister's pretentions on her marriage, and the haughtiness of her brother Maximilian, had disgusted the nobles: he affected the familiarity and manners of a private gentleman. Maximilian and his brother paid a visit to M. de Buffon, who offered the former a copy of his natural history. "I will not deprive you of it," replied he to that celebrated naturalist, at the same time returning the first volume which M. de Buffon had put into his hand. "I request you to favour me," said Joseph in a subsequent visit to M. de Buffon, "with the copy of your works, which my brother forgot to take." Academic audiences, visits to persons of literature, lessened in some degree at Paris the jealousy which Joseph II. had excited; throughout the provinces it was very generally known.

CHAP. IV.

The Queen gains the Affection of the King her Husband—That Prince's Moderation—She opposes a chosen Society, to the Discontent of the Court—She raises the Vaudreuils and the Polignacs—She promotes them to Posts of Confidence, and honours them with Dignities of State—Resentment of the Nobles—Portraits of the Duchess of Polignac, and of Diana her Sister-in-law.

HOWEVER inconsiderate and imprudent Maria Antoinetta might be, she was well aware of the danger of her situation. Her first care was to engage her husband's affection; in that she easily succeeded. That prince was possessed of every social and domestic virtue; and the queen knew so well how to employ her persuasions and caresses, that she found the means of conquering him; she attained the height of all her wishes, except his confidence relative to those state affairs that were connected with the house of Austria, whom the king did not love, but with whom he desired to preserve the union he had found established. Lewis detested the emperor, and mistrusted the queen's secret intentions so much, that he never permitted her to penetrate into his cabinet, situated immediately under the anvil, in the highest apartment of the palace. Lewis had conveyed thither his father's papers,

and his secret correspondence with M. de Vergennes, in which he is urged not to confide in the queen. Thus situated, she determined to have a chosen society, to raise the individuals of which it should be composed to the highest posts in the household, and to dissolve by imperceptible degrees the remains of the ancient establishment of the deceased queen, the persons holding offices in it becoming every day more haughty and independent, less assiduous in their attentions, and less sincere in the homage they paid her. Hence arose the reception which Vaudreuil and Polignac received at court; the withdrawing of Rohan, of madame de Noailles, and several other remarkable persons, who did not treat her with the same degree of respectful attention; and such was the fate of this princess, that necessitated, by her dispute with the nobles concerning the affairs of etiquette, to associate with the inferior nobility, she drew on herself the enmity of the great men of the state, who were extremely disgusted at the partiality she manifested towards upstarts. Hence arose that formidable combination, which grew more implacable against her in proportion to the favour she bestowed on her favourites. Not that the Polignacs, whose real name was Chalancon, and who were ingrafted on the true stock of the Polignacs, had not the reputation of being decended

from an ancient house: the cardinal Polignac, had rendered this family illustrious both by his talents, and his virtues; the house of Polignac likewise possessed the barony of that name in Languedoc; but its members, as late as 1774, existed in a state of such mediocrity, as scarcely enabled them to enjoy the comforts of the better kind of tradesmen, hardly possessing at that time eight thousand livres a year: a difference extremely wide from that of our courtiers, who were distinguished by their rank, their office, and their opulence. Accordingly these latter, enjoying credit at court, were indignant at its being conferred on so impoverished a family.

Madame Julius de Polignac, the wife of count Julius, had been confined within her own domestic circle till the age of five and twenty, owing to the smallness of her fortune. His sister, named Diana, having obtained in 1775 a place in the household of the countess of Artois, the wife of count Julius found an opportunity of appearing at her sister's. On the queen's seeing her, she was so struck by her beauty, that she instantly granted her her confidence, which occasioned a malignant public to say, that it was more the effect of passion, than reflection. Count Julius was made first equerry to the queen, in reversion to the count de Tessé, and created hereditary duke in 1780. The count de Grammont, on demanding count Julius's

daughter in marriage, was created duke of Guiche, and appointed by the king captain of his guard. The queen removed the princess of Rohan Guéménée from the office of governess to the royal children, and placed the duchess of Polignac in her stead; her husband obtained the charge of master *des portes et des haras*.

The duchess of Polignac possessed the art of seducing and simulating the affections. Posterity will naturally enquire by what means she acquired so great an ascendant over the queen's mind, in despite of the court, the capital, and in fine the wishes of the whole nation. This open opposition was in effect the cause of her success. The queen was arrived at such a state, that she required a person in direct contrast with all the court, to whom she might grant her confidence; and the countess of Polignac, observing her majesty irritated against so many women, founded her strength on that very circumstance, and the restraint and confinement which the queen suffered, surrounded by titled females who watched her incessantly. The queen wanted a confidential person, a female whom she might raise from nothing, who should owe her existence to her. And in madame de Polignac, she imagined she had discovered all the qualities she thought necessary to insure the happiness of her domestic and even secret life. The duchess of Polignac possessed besides a very

uncommon talent. She could affect the force of sentiment, and her expression and gesture were in appearance those of nature; she blushed at will, like a bashful beauty, and was as timid as innocence. Love itself could not be more impassioned; but, if necessary, she knew so well how to manage her feelings, that the queen never once suspected, that her attractions were the result of her art and talents. Madame de Polignac was so skilled in the art of displaying the charms of her imagination, and either sex found themselves so happy in her society, that the queen's mind was corrupted by it. The duchess, meanwhile, exerted herself in behalf of every individual of a numerous and insatiable family. By means of intrigue and favourable opportunity they became dukes, superintendants, and distinguished pensionaries of the crown, to the degradation and injury of the house of Rohan, which was deprived of those very employments, and even of the education of the royal children, who had so long confided to its care. Affected moderation, and the usual me-method of arriving at court preferment by slow degrees, appeared to madame de Polignac the virtue of ignoble souls; she did not think herself obliged to spare the source of the credit she enjoyed; and she even carried her temerity to such an height, as to introduce her lover, Vaudreuil,

into the queen's most intimate society. She aimed at obtaining every thing by surprise, for she felt that she might lose every thing by accident and the resentment of very powerful rivals, who were consumed with envy towards her. The injurious language with which she was attacked by the ballads, satires, epigrams, and pamphlets that daily appeared, were so many warnings, that told she had no time to lose to insure the fruits of her good fortune. Hence arose that scandalous traffic in benefices, dignities, and employments, with which history accuses her. If her family were alarmed at the public discontent, and at the storm they foresaw, she came boldly forward, and relieved all the Polignacs from their state of terror: she summoned to her assistance the ministers she had created, or who enjoyed her favour, and without considering the danger she exposed them to, she ordered them to silence the clamours that were raised by malice or resentment. M. de Calonne well knows what it cost the nation.

The duchess of Polignac was governed by the countess Diana of Polignac, her sister-in-law; and in as great a degree as the duchess was handsome and engaging, Diana was ugly and disgusting. Endowed with uncommon sense, fertile in ways and means, she was the founder of the fortunes of her house, which she governed with absolute authority, every morning issuing her

commands and written orders for the conduct of the day. She was made a canoness by patent; and though a spinster, and disgusting, as well from the unbending haughtiness of her disposition as the ugliness of her person, she yearly gave a fresh subject to the state. From the last place she held at court in 1775, where she was companion to the countess of Artois, she had become lady of honour to the princess Elizabeth, and had much more authority in her household, than Elizabeth herself. The king even was so much afraid of the duchess and her sister, that madame Elizabeth having retired to St. Cyr, to avoid the tyranny of her lady of honour, the king went in person to intreat his sister to return, to have patience, and bear with the countess Diana, because the queen wanted her services: such was the power she had acquired over the king, the queen, madame Elizabeth, and the duchess her sister-in-law.

The nation was exasperated at the scandalous anecdotes and conduct of the Polignacs; but Diana was of so undaunted a nature, that she resolved never to change her behaviour; and especially never to yield to the tempest. Her sovereign was a sort of advance-guard, which she never failed to present to her enemies. She had sworn that she would find a man to conquer the complaints of the kingdom,

the capital, and the court, who all united in one voice against her. In six years she succeeded in destroying the queen's reputation, and rendering her an object of hatred to the whole French nation. A revolution was the result partly of the contempt she affected for the public discontent; and this revolution, aiming itself against the queen, the duchess and Diana of Polignac, involved them alike in the proscription of 1789. The Polignacs and the Vaudreuils, fugitives, could only traverse the revolted provinces, and at length reach the frontiers in safety, by cursing the Vaudreuils and the Polignacs. They had spent six years in acquiring a fortune: six days made them the foot-ball, I will not say of the revolution, but of all France. Their parasites, as is usual, abandoned them; the public execrated them; and the great charged them with the misfortunes of the state.

History accuses the duchess, and particularly Diana, with the queen's principal errors. It might still have been possible to have corrected the levity of that princess, to have attached her exclusively to France, especially since she was become the mother of a dauphin, and to have reconciled her to the nobility. This system so contrary to that of the Polignacs, would have annihilated a party, at the head of which the queen affected to place herself, by abandoning herself

to the influence of her favourites; but she could never be persuaded, that the friendship of her enemies might be useful, or that the attachment of the friend she had chosen could be dangerous. However, as soon as her connexions were well known, the queen's, till then, numerous court, insensibly diminished. The king's aunts had already withdrawn themselves to avoid an open rupture. The princesses of the blood only went on festivals and days of ceremony. The titled ladies were there against their inclinations, and only to do the duty of their office. The favourites, Vaudreuil, Polignac, Polastron, Vermont, Bezeuval, &c. succeeded in attaching the queen solely to themselves, and in process of time her society sunk so low, that Rivarol became one of its members. Revolutionary events have rendered these last expressions doubtful; truth commands me, however, to preserve the sentence as it is. Rivarol possessed at all times superior sense, and could be amiable when he pleased, but he was not a person to raise the queen from the state of debasement into which her first selection had plunged her.

CHAP. V.

Birth of a Dauphin—Second Era of the Queen's Life—Her great Influence.

THE birth of a dauphin might have once more changed the queen's situation. A wise and prudent council might have taken advantage of a circumstance, which decidedly attached Maria Antoinetta to France, and in some measure gave her a new existence. In case of the king's death, Maria Antoinetta, as regent, became the sovereign of the first power in Europe. The mere possibility of such an event rendered her an object of interest to the French nation; but she, in a circumstance which strengthened the affection of the monarch, and increased her influence, saw only the means of abusing her own power and his weakness, and that to such a degree, as to bestow every thing according to her will; all the posts and dignities of the kingdom, from the office of prime minister, down to that of clerk of the tolls, which she did not disdain to ask. The first dauphin, who died 1789, was born the 22d of October, 1781. The death of M. de Maurepas happened the 11th of November following. This event, delivering the

queen from a minister to whom she owed a part of her misfortunes, made her flatter herself, that she should then reign almost without opposition. It, however, proved the contrary; and she experienced the truth of what Lewis XIV. was the first to observe,—" that in giving away an office, *one* person was made ungrateful and *twenty* discontented." — She caused M. Amelot, a creature of M. de Maurepas, to be dismissed, and appointed baron Breteuil, who was secretly attached to her family, in his stead. She had succeeded in appointing M. de Segur, since marshal of France, and was very desirous of raising the archbishop of Toulouse, who had long passionately wished to fill the post, to the management of the finances. She would also have succeeded as to the archbishop, had not the king discovered in his father's papers, that M. de Lomenie was an atheist and a philosopher. She contributed secretly to the retreat of the virtuous M. d'Ormesson. She nominated, and delared herself the protector of M. de Calonne, whose easy character, and morals, made her hope to find him intirely devoted to her will. She was desirous of dismissing M. de Vergennes, whose diplomatic system was in every respect contrary to the ambitious views of the court of Vienna; but she found the king firm in his reliance on that minister.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the Picture of Maria Antoinetta's Life—Of Fashions; and of the important Revolution they experienced in our Commerce through the Queen's Influence—Joseph II. is accused of influencing her, that he might once more re-establish his Manufactories in the Netherlands to the Prejudice of the French Manufactories of Silk—The Queen grows weary of the ancient royal Palaces—The Courtiers fall off at Versailles—She removes nearer to the Capital by the Purchase of St. Cloud—Impropriety of this Purchase—She grows also weary of the Fashions of France, and its Manufactures—The prosperous State of her Brother's Manufactories, and their Produce brought into France—She is accused of being an Austrian, even in the Revolution she effects in the Fashions and Manufactures—The complaints of the Lionese—They petition Madame Adelaide—Morals of the Queen; she performs Plays in her private Apartments.

IT was not without the most profound political reasons, that an Asiatic luxury distinguished the reigns of Lewis XIV. and XV. Magnificent equipages, richness of apparel, the beauty, number, and choice of domestics, and sumptuous residencies marked the different degrees of society, prevented confusion in the hierarchy, and supported the variety and pre-eminence of rank. Maria Antoinetta was the first to destroy this conservatory principle in a monarchical state. The nobles, towards the period of the revolution, wore clothes only of a simple and cheap texture.

The ancient costume was become the dress of ceremony, constraint, and form. The court of France being daily more deserted, and the central point of intrigue fixing itself by degrees in the capital, reduced the royal family to the necessity of passing the whole week at Versailles, in the retirement of a private family. The poverty of the courtiers occasioned Fontainbleau and Compiegne every year to be less visited. The queen grew weary of these formal journeys, which were no longer solicited as a favour by the nobility. The return of the same faces to Versailles for their term of attendance disgusted her, and she fancied that the acquisition of Saint Cloud, by approaching her to the capital, would restore her former influence. It never occurred to her that this conduct was the reverse of that which a great sovereign ought to have adopted, who, instead of seeking her courtiers, ought, as an act of favour, to permit them to seek her, as was the custom in the former reigns. On this occasion the queen forgot that she was bringing her court, already in such disrepute, into the vicinity of a capital, whence it had been removed from very powerful political, and other motives, even in the brilliant reign of Lewis XIV. Accordingly, instead of finding, at Saint Cloud, the homage and respect she expected from the nobles, she shewed herself publicly in the coarse and vulgar amusements of

the populace and the Parisians, who never failed to crowd thither every year to have a sight of the *jeu des eaux*. M. Lenoir alone knows what it cost the police yearly, to pay the venal tribe for crying *Vive la Reine*, in opposition to the Parisian mob, who used to exclaim on quitting Paris, and all along the road as they passed: "We are going to Saint Cloud to see the water-works, and look at the Austrian," or similar contemptuous expressions.

Maria Antoinetta likewise, by degrees, divested herself of those outward marks, invented by the wisdom of the ancient sovereigns for preserving to the dignity of royalty, those privileges and that external splendour, which rendered it awful in the eyes of the multitude. The palace of Versailles was regarded by this princess as the abode of dullness; she had fixed her chief residence and pleasures at Trianon, where, disdaining the heavy ornaments of Lenotre, and other artists celebrated for their taste in decorating gardens according to the genius of the French, she ordered her grounds to be laid out with all the picturesque embellishments of an English pleasure-ground. The queen was even ignorant, that the very amusements of the monarchs of France were in a manner composed of majesty and splendor. The palaces of Vincennes, Compiegne, and Fontainbleau, so famous in history, and allotted from the earliest times for the periodical

recreations of the court; the dark forests which either surrounded, or grew in their vicinity, and cast a mysterious shade, or an air of enchantment over their Gothic architecture, were almost forsaken. The queen went only to Saint Cloud, a palace notorious for the midnight orgies of the house of Orleans, and the rendezvous of the Parisian mob; and it is still fresh in every one's mind, that she took her place at the tilting-matches and other games of the waterman, as a simple spectator, with the citizens, who every Sunday crowded thither.

The queen took advantage of these circumstances to change and simplify the fashions, and she succeeded, to the prejudice of the national industry. The magnificence of the court, in the article of dress, had been till then a source of opulence to the artists, and the city of Lyons, the central point of the silk manufactories, gave life to the southern provinces, whose chief wealth proceed from their silk-worms. Lyons purchased annually raw silks, to the amount of fifty millions, in Provence and Languedoc, and sold, to double that amount, rich stuffs, the fashion and taste of which altered five or six times a year. The emperor was accused of envying France a sort of wealth which she possessed almost without a rival in Europe; and the queen reproached with having seconded her brother in his design of ruining the

trade of Lyons. She is taxed with having effected a reform in the French dress and fashions, that she might turn it to the advantage of her brother's linen manufactories in the Netherlands, which he was so anxious to re-establish. The truth is, silk apparel went out of fashion, as soon as the queen borrowed from waiting women their custom of dressing in white. The consequence was, that Brussels grew opulent, and Lyons lost three fourths of its labouring population.

Lewis XIV. had rendered every court in Europe tributary to the manufactories of Lyons. The capitals of every empire and sovereignty, the nobility of every nation, poured annually into the coffers of that town eighty millions of specie, and in return drew thence, superb stuffs, sarsenets, taffetas, and costly brocades of gold and silver. A dauphiness, under Lewis XIV. had given her name to one of those rich silks; and now another dauphiness, guided by her attachment to the interest and commerce of her own family, impoverishes those very manufactories. The queen's dislike, and the change she effected in the arts and fashions, first gave the example to France, and then to Europe, from the influence our fashions have always had in foreign countries. This occasioned the distress and misery of thousands of families before employed in those arts; and the general discontent burst out into

open complaints. The merchants of Lyons, finding their trade decline, represented to the king's aunts the absolute necessity of maintaining their commerce, and proscribing the new taste which had introduced into France, to the prejudice of her own commercial prosperity, the productions of foreign manufactories. The princesses received the memorial, presented it to the king, and gently reproved the queen, who treated their remonstrance with the haughtiness of a sovereign, whose heart was entirely estranged from the French nation. Silk apparel was no longer worn in private: whatever the inventive genius of the artist, and the fine taste of the French ladies had considered as the most beautiful, grand, and elegant of female attire, was proscribed or preserved only for festivals or days of ceremony. Long flowing robes were laid aside, and the old dress of stage heroines and prostitutes adopted at the queen's private court in their stead; and never, after that capital error, could her court, so badly conducted, resume the magnificence of its former costume, so suitable to the dignity of a sovereign. "There is now no distinguishing a duchess from an actress," said Montjoye, one of the queen's panegyrists. At that time the French manufacturers lost upwards of an hundred millions of their annual profits, which were gained by Joseph II. in his exports from the Low Countries; and when in

process of time, England concluded a treaty with France, which actually ruined the finest manufactures of the latter, the national spirit of the French reviving in the people, in that class particularly of the citizens distinguished for their address, activity, and vigilance, the patriotic friends of their native land, a revolt took place against a government, which had degraded and impoverished the nation, for the benefit of Austria and England.*

To this rage for lawns and cambrics, succeeded that for private theatricals. The king, naturally of a serious disposition, either avoided being present, or if there, found them very tiresome: the queen, envying the merit of an actress, played in her apartments, not the principal characters, in which there still might be a comparative dignity, but those of chamber-maids, abigails, and confidants. Formerly, adds the queen's before-mentioned panegyrist, a private gentleman would have been dishonoured, had he been known to have metamorphosed himself into an actor, even in his private family. The queen having by her example destroyed this salutary prejudice, studied and acted comic

* The merchants of Lyons, however, endeavoured to please that princess. They brought the colour of her hair into fashion, and for that purpose requested a lock of it, which she granted them: they carried their desire of obliging her to such an height, that they ordered silks to be made of the colour *caca dauphin*, which became the fashion.

operas. This rage introduced the comedians into the higher classes of society, the morals of which were not benefited by their proximity. The queen filled but awkwardly the characters she attempted; she could not but be sensible of this, from the little pleasure it afforded the spectators, who frequently went so far as to say of her acting, that it was most royally bad. "Do not fail in your memoirs," said a lady to me one day, who was in the habit of seeing the queen constantly at Versailles and Trianon, "to inform the world, that she has the morals and talents of the lowest comedian." This was judging her very severely; her conduct did not perhaps merit it, but it gave sufficient occasion for many illiberal constructions.—I shall presently enter more at large on this delicate subject.

CHAP. VII.

Morals of Maria Antoinetta, Queen of France—Nocturnal Walks on the Terrace, or in the Park; and the Revels of Trianon—Anecdotes.

IT is easy to conceive, that the queen, having drawn on herself the enmity of the king's aunts, of Monsieur, Madame, the Countess of Artois, and the majority of the ladies of rank, was very likely to be calumniated with respect to her morals. Posterity, to acquire a true knowledge on this subject, ought to expunge nineteen from twenty of the accusations against her. As the morals, however, of the Roman empresses, as well of the sovereign princesses of the middle ages, are the springs of history, and as those of the queen of France have powerfully affected the destiny of the state, I shall mention a few facts, related to me by persons of the ancient regime, who had the best means of information, and which have been confirmed to me during the period of the revolution, and again since the present work has been at the press. During the life of Lewis XV., she conducted herself with much more decorum, than when she became queen of France. From that period, to the birth

of the dauphiness, she took no care to silence the reports that were spread against her. Edward, who was called the *handsome* Dillon, and M. de Cogni, were said to be her lovers; even the count d'Artois was reported to be of the party. "We made this discovery at cards," said a lady to me about the time it happened, "for the count d'Artois trod on the toes, and pinched madame de **, in a moment of thoughtlessness, thinking it was Maria Antoinetta."

The queen's mode of life with the ladies of her household was very ill suited to gain her the love and respect of the French. She had found there, besides madame de Noailles, whom I have mentioned, several other ladies in the service of the late queen, who still preserved the decorous manners of that princess, and the dignity of their rank. At Lewis XVI's. accession to the throne, there still remained of the old ocurt madame de Talleyrand, de Grammont, de Tavannes, d'Adhemard, de Chaulnes, de Duras: the queen thought them superannuated and tiresome; she laughed indecently in their faces, and amused herelf continually with turning them into ridicule, which occasioned several of them to withdraw themselves, rather than submit to so disagreeable a service.

The ladies of rank, who were not attached to her family, and whose manner was reserved, were

no better treated. One day that the duchess of Charost, wife to the celebrated philanthropist, who lately died, went to pay her respects to the queen. She met with so unfavourable a reception, that she retired in disgust, betraying as much haughtiness as the queen had shewed imprudence, solemnly protesting that she would never appear at court again during her life: but the king interfered and pacified her resentment, by sending a page to invite her to supper that same night.

On becoming queen, Maria Antoinetta formed her household of persons nearly of her own age. She chose the duchess of Cossé, as her lady of the bed-chamber. The advice of the daughter of the renowned duke of Nivernois, was such, that dignity and propriety would have distinguished the queen's court, had her counsels been attended to: unfortunately, however, they had no effect; and the duchess, who fulfilled the duties of her office without emolument, retired, leaving the charge of the bed-chamber to madame de Mailly, who was succeeded by madame d'Ossun.

From the year 1774, to 1789, the queen's household was composed of a great mixture. The queen has been publickly accused of the depraved morals which history attaches to the memory of several notorious empresses. Madame de Marsan made serious representations on the subject to the king. The queen thought herself insulted, and

becoming tired successively both of madame de Guéménée, and madame de Lamballe, she attached herself chiefly to madame Julius de Polignac till 1789, the period of the emigration of that lady.

She was reproached with carrying on a secret connexion with madame Bertin, a famous milliner of the capital, and likewise with the misses Guimond, Renaud and Gentil. The nocturnal walks on the terrace caused the most anxious solicitude throughout all France. It was very well known, that the king had retired for the night, and that the count d'Artois, Monsieur, and the queen mixed in the croud. Curiosity, on my first arrival at Paris, prompted me to verify this fact. It was but too true, that women of all conditions came out of the palace muffled up in their cloaks. The men were disguised by slouched hats, and large great coats. The nobles, fatigued by the forms and constraint imposed during the day, enjoyed at night a degree of liberty which degenerated into licentiousness. The people took part in these revels, in the hope of some adventure. All ranks had imbibed so intemperate a passion for these evening amusements, that the libertines among the princes, and persons of consequence at court and in office, could not refrain from bearing a part in them. A very handsome *garde du corps*, of whom I had this anecdote, had dared to flatter himself with hopes. He saw the queen, accosted her, and in decisive

tone said: "Madam, forgive my temerity; but either ——— or die." Not at all disconcerted the queen replied: "Neither Sir." She had him followed, and interested herself in his advancement.

The king, on being informed of these circumstances, expressed the greatest displeasure and uneasiness. The secret orgies of Trianon then succeeded to the nightly walks. Vandrieul, Besenval, the prince d'Hennin, d'Adhemar, Diana, the duchess of Polignac, &c. continued to engross entirely the queen's confidence. They used to find amusement in a variety of games, not of the most delicate nature, and of which the detail is foreign to history. One day after this jovial party had been reading an account, in Buffon, of the loves of the stags, thinking it would be very entertaining to represent those animals, they ordered dresses to be made of their skin. After all the company, disguised as stags and hinds, had ranged about the gardens for some time in that singular masquerade, they thought it also entertaining to partake of their pleasures.

The consequence of such imprudent conduct, was the strange reputation the queen has transmitted to posterity. The contemporary generation, which pardons no lapse, and is a stranger to no circumstance, though it not unfrequently exaggerates them, allows the monarch the character

of the most virtuous of princes; while it accuses the queen of every vice, even that of a love of variety.

To the handsome Dillon, to Coigni, and her other admirers, succeeded M. de Fersen; who, more artful than his discarded rivals, who, though lovers, still were subjects, found the talent of fixing the queen by treating her with harshness and even jealousy. She both loved and feared him.

The queen has been accused of the greatest dilapidations to furnish her extravagant pleasures. The following is a note which I found among the king's papers at Versailles, and which considerably lessens the reproaches of the Brissotine and the Orleans party against her.

For her private establishment, the queen's expenditure, in 1788, amounted to four millions six hundred thousand livres.

She granted a pension to sieur Laval, dancing-master.

To her ballet master.

To madam de la Brosse, musician.

To M. Delagarde, music seller.

To M. Chiquetier, harpsichord maker.

Trianon cost seventy-two thousand, and Saint Cloud, four hundred thousand livres.

The reputation of the court was so degraded even in the second year of Lewis XVI.'s reign, that the burin has recorded some of its vices. The

cabinet council commanded the large and beautiful engraving of the coronation. Never has any piece been executed with more spirit, or in a greater style of perfection. The king, the royal family, the nobles of the state are represented in the most interesting moment of that august ceremony. Where will it be supposed the artist has contrived to introduce the picture of the profligacy, the shameful licentiousness of the court? On the windows of the cathedral, engraved on the top of the plate.

CHAP. VIII.

Causes of the Enmity between the Queen and the Duke of Chartres, since Duke of Orleans—That Prince is desirous of obtaining the Post of Admiral, and distinguishes himself at the Fight off Ouessant—The Queen turns the official Account of the Engagement into Ridicule, by means of satirical Verse, &c.—Favourable Reception from the Parisians—That Prince crowned at the Opera—He swears he will never be the Subject of the Children of Coigny—The Duke of Orleans boasts of his having rejected first the Queen's Overtures—He explains his Reasons.

THE duke of Chartres having obtained the king's consent to enter into the sea-service, distinguished himself for his bravery in the engagement off Ouessant. Several of the nobility, during the action, concealed themselves in the hold: the duke of Chartres, on the contrary, clothed in a white waistcoat, and decorated with his blue ribbon, fought bravely; sustained the blows that the enemy directed against his vessel; and himself carried the tidings of victory, and the defeat of Admiral Keppel, whom England considered as one of her best naval officers.

The duke of Chartres arrived at Versailles, the 1st of August. The following day the queen ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, not for the victory, but her pregnancy; and the duke, indignant at

this mockery, hastened to the Palais-Royal to solace himself there, for the cool reception he had received at Versailles.

Words cannot express the delight of the Parisians. The Palais-Royal, and the houses in its vicinity were illuminated: the gardens were crouded with people all night, who manifested the most extreme demonstrations of joy. They even crowned the prince at the opera.

The queen, almost frantic with rage, commanded verses to be made and reports spread contradictory to those of M. d'Orviliers, and these were opposed to the fame acquired by the duke of Chartres. Among many others were the following:

Tel cherchant la toison fameuse
Jason, sur la mer orageuse,
Se hazarda:
Il n'en eut qu'une; et pour tes peines
Nous t'en promettons deux douzaines
A l'Opera.

"Thus Jason, fam'd in days of yore,
Defy'd, to win the golden fleece,
The stormy billows boist'rous roar,
In hope when gain'd, to rest in peace:—
He had but one for all his pain:
Thy deeds, the Opera shall proclaim,
And with two dozen crown thy fame."

This couplet was followed by many more, in which the duke was equally ill-treated. The reports were also multiplied which tended to depreciate him; and at length, irritated to the greatest degree, he sent word to the queen, who was five months advanced in her first pregnancy, that he saw she was as bad a wife as a sovereign; but "that the child of Coigny should never be his king, he solemnly swore."

The duke of Chartres had attained to the rank of commander, by having filled all the subordinate stations. During the campaign, he had served as ensign, lieutenant, captain of a single ship, and commodore. That he might be qualified to obtain the reversion of the rank of admiral, which was enjoyed by his father-in-law, the duke of Penthièvre, was the principal motive which induced him to enter the sea-service; but the hatred with which Maria Antoinetta pursued him, raised an obstacle to his desires. To pacify him, the post of colonel-general of the Orleans hussars was instituted, which being accepted by that prince, the queen's party gave out, that this land recompence, for naval services, was a treatment such as M. de Chartres merited.

The duke, who himself related these anecdotes as the cause of a secret rupture with the queen,

added another, which certainly deserves the utmost attention. He pretended that the queen had sought him, as she had sought the count d'Artois, that that princess, meeting with a refusal, had conceived an antipathy against him, that almost amounted to madness. With respect to the refusal itself, the prince explained it by saying, that he loved to live in liberty and peace; that this court intrigue might be attended with consequences he wished to avoid, and that at the time the queen endeavoured to form a connexion with princes whose interest lay in seeing her without children, Lewis XVI. was deemed, not from impotence, but a defective organization, incapable of having any: he ended by adding, that if the queen's interest induced her to seek the duke of Chartres, the duke of Chartres' interest induced him to avoid her.

It is a certain fact, that, during the debates relative to the return of the parliament, the queen was accused of an affair of galantry with the duke of Chartres. The pamphlets, and the talk of the times, were sufficiently explicit on this subject. The duke of Chartres, heir to that ambition which the house of Orleans, first princes of the blood, had always manifested for a crown, even under the imperious Lewis XIV., had family motives enough for declining the queen's overtures, supposing she had so far forgotten the dignity of

her rank and sex, as to seek the duke. Philip of Orleans, in an unfortunate moment for Philip V., had taken some steps in favour of his race; his son, retired to saint Genevieve, solely devoted to the practice of piety, declared one day to Guettard, who belonged to the academy of sciences, who was attached to him, and from whom I had the anecdote, that if the dauphin, son to Lewis XV., had died of the measles, and Spain had attempted to have disputed with him the throne of France, he would have sallied forth from the abbey of Saint Genevieve, on horseback, with a drawn sword in that hand, which, on his entering it, had held a rosary. The duke of Orleans, father to the revolutionist, though naturally of a timid and weak disposition, was extremely bigotted to the prerogatives of his rank; and though citizen Egalité persisted during the revolution in saying, that his only intention was to dethrone the queen and fulfil the oath he had taken, it is necessary to supply history with facts which are essential to it, and to insert an anecdote, which the duke of Orleans himself related prior to the revolution. I must add likewise, that if the general plan of the present work and its details deserve that the reader should give credit to facts, which I affirm to be certain; I request him to believe, that the following account

came from the duke of Orleans himself: but as the anecdote is of so singular a nature; and characterizes so perfectly the morals and weakness of the times, I reserve it for a new chapter, which I here present to the reflection of the reader.

CHAP. IX.

Strange Deceptions practised on the Duke of Orleans by a Stranger—They are related by that Prince—Credulity of the Times; upon the Subject of Somnambulism and Apparitions—The Duke of Orleans conducted by a pretended Magician to the Plain of Ville-Neuve-Saint-George, to learn his Destiny.

ALL the present generation may recollect with what enthusiasm persons of the first rank, and the Parisians of the best quality, received the famous adventurer Cagliostro, who enabled cardinal Rohan to sup with the deceased M. Dalembert, the king of Prussia, and M. de Voltaire, who had died eight years before. He found means also to persuade his eminence, that he, Cagliostro, had been present with Jesus Christ, at the marriage of Cana in Gallilee.

All the present generation may likewise recollect a man named Bleton, who had the art of persuading men that he could perceive a spring an hundred feet under ground. It may also be remembered that the Somnambulists conversed as well with the dead as with the living. I have endeavoured by painful and persevering researches to discover the invisible agent, who thus infected our capital with his mysticisms; who sent us such men

as Mesmer, Saint Germain, and Cagliostro; and who provided the latter with those large sums, which enabled him to display so much pomp and magnificence in his mode of life.

Mirabeau, who was then at the court of Berlin, appears to me to have divined the most probable cause. He thus expressed himself with regard to Cagliostro: "He is connected with a certain society, who through his means hope to attain an object, highly advantageous to them."

The duke of Orleans, as well as cardinal Rohan, had his Cagliostro: the following account of it is given nearly in his own words.

"One day, on entering my study, I found a man there of an austere and remarkable countenance, who told me, that if I pleased he would undertake to shew me things ineffable. He said also, that he would even carry his zeal in my behalf so far, as to raise the devil, and that I should learn from him whatever I wished to know concerning futurity. I accepted the offer. 'But, my lord,' added he, 'you must have the courage to trust yourself alone with me; to quit all frequented roads; to enter a large pathless plain; for example, that of Ville-Neuve-Saint-George:' I consented to that likewise. 'This is not all,' continued he, 'you must have the courage to come at midnight, to leave your attendants at Villeneuve, and to abandon yourself wholly to my guidance. I

agreed to that condition also. We set out; I left my attendants; I entered the plain: the night was extremely dark. I conquered the emotions of terror with which the sight of the spectres I met inspired me. I listened to their admonitions, their prophecies; I promised to receive my conductor favourably as often as he should return, and a ring was given me. 'Keep this ring carefully', said the infernal spirit; 'as long as it remain in your possession, it shall be to you the token of prosperity and happiness; but from the moment it is taken from you, your doom will be sealed.' This same guide, on his returning with me, refused five hundred pounds which I offered him, and took only fifty; promised to come back; has kept his word, and still continues with the same zeal to give me his honest advice."

In saying these words, the duke of Orleans uncovered his bosom and shewed his ring.

It is now evident, what means, towards the approach of the revolution, the infernal spirits that directed the whole, employed to insure or accelerate its motion.

Some of thofe means were of a nature to impose on the credulity and weakness of the first prince of the blood, and induce him to negociate a treaty, that he thought concluded with the prince of darkness. The duke of Orleans did not explain the conditions of the treaty, but I should not be surprised

if he were promised success in his enterprises, as long as he preserved the ring: nor should I wonder if he preserved it to the fatal period when it was taken from him at the Place of the Revolution.

The duke of Orleans was ambitious, despotic, and vindictive: his passions were as violent, as his understanding was weak and feeble, as soon as he found the instant of gratifying them. Mirabeau with much truth observed, that it was in the power even of impotence to produce the crime he had conceived. He was persuaded, that the revolution had a certain and decided motion, from which it was impossible it could ever deviate, and which in the end could not fail to be favourable to him. Probably the demon of the plain of Villeneuve-Saint-George had assured him that it was so. Entreated to quit his temporising system, which could only lead him to the scaffold, and solicited to that effect by some distinguished characters who were really attached to him, he never had the courage to execute their wishes. "Either be a decided Cromwell," said M. ** to him, "or consider the scaffold as your certain fate." He constantly refused to adopt the resolute measures, that were capable of changing his destiny; he heard without emotion the prophecy of an ignominious death; the devil perhaps had promised him one in the bed of honor. His father, who feared him, thought him capable of every crime. On the whole, the court

of Versailles and the duke of Orleans were equally timid; for the queen and the duke, thinking themselves proscribed by each other, were inspired with the same degree of mistrust; and each being at the head of an opposite party, mutually led the other to the scaffold, the minds of both being enflamed by the pamphlets, false reports, and infamous satires that daily appeared. Certain embassadors also, emissaries from foreign powers, enemies to France, greatly contributed to their ruin.

CHAP. X.

Continuation of the Picture of the Morals of the French Nation prior to the Revolution—Its Partiality for hidden Things, Mysteries and Allegories—The Contest between the Academy of Sciences, and the Empirics, and false Philosophers—Doctor Mesmer, the Founder of a Scientific School for Empirics—Grandees of the Realm, distinguished Magistrates, Persons learned in the Sciences, become his Disciples—The Court of Verſailles oppoſe to the Doctrines of Mesmer the Experiments of Franklin, Darcet, Lavoisier, Bailly, Guillotin, Leroi, de Bory, &c.

THE duke of Orleans was not the only personage in the state who abandoned himself to the deceptions of impostors. Mesmer, Cagliostro, Bleton, the martinists, the somnambulists, and their disciples, threw the nation into such a state of fermentation, that it seemed to presage the phrenzy of the public mind during the revolution.

Posterity will never believe that doctor Mesmer, a German physician, living in an enlightened capital, in the very centre of incredulity and philosophy, in the vicinity of an ancient academy of sciences, and of the royal society of medicine, could have inspired the enthusiasm of which we have been eye witnesses. It might be conjectured, that the evil genius who has revolutionised and laid waste the kingdom of France, in the names

of liberty and equality, already prepared the nation for its dreadful destiny, by mystical associations, and by the uniting of men who had a taste for the allegoric and mysterious. I have seen Mesmer impress the mind with the most excessive agitation: he drew to him both the court and the city. Princes, great men of the state, magistrates, persons of literature, even physicians, were seen ranging themselves modestly in the class, of his disciples, in the glorious prospect of becoming expert magnetisers. As the loadstone attracts iron, the ancients had long since imagined, that there might exist an *animal and moral magnetism*, which acted upon mankind in a manner similar to that of the *mineral magnetism*. It may easily be conceived, to what degree in a city like Paris, the doctrine of moral attraction might impress the mind, and with what avidity persons, absolutely satiated with enjoyment of every kind, would be charmed with the idea of an unknown mode of exciting or experiencing attractions. The nobleman felt for the first time an unknown pleasure at finding himself in magnetical contact with a pretty daughter of a tradesman. The latter experienced a similar emotion in raising herself, by means of the tub, on a level with a lord. Each individual rewarded M. Mesmer with an hundred pounds, for the pleasure of attracting and being attracted. But

those who wished to possess the arcanum, paid much larger sums. People went to Mesmer's, entertaining doubts of the reality of magnetism: but he so well understood the art of producing a strong excitement of the nervous system, that they quitted him in a state of enthusiasm at having attracted, and been attracted by, another, and boasted of having been in *contact*, and *reciprocal action*. Wherefore did the academy of sciences destroy this pleasing illusion? The celebrated adventurer contrived magnets to attract us, and tubs to unite us: the illusion was delightful. The princes, the clergy, the nobles, the people, all met daily in cordiality at the doctor's, while the ancient directory were daily seeking the means to force us to take the oath of mutual hatred.

The empiric who thus imposed upon the capital, joined the resources of charlatanism to a very specious mode of reasoning, drawn both from the physical and moral sciences. Aiming at subjugating the mind, especially the mind of those who were a prey to nervous and mental disorders, he conceived the idea of large tubs, of seizing on the imagination, by publickly treating his patients, and by undertaking a great number of vapourish persons at once. He began his operation by the application of his own hands, or those of his pupils. The part that was touched, rubbed, or patted, was always one or more of the most irritable of the human frame; such as the stomach, the loins, the dif-

ferent parts of the abdomen, and the bottom of the back. One feels a sort of magnetism, in writing the account, even sixteen years afterwards. Young women experienced the most violent crises, and were attacked with dreadful hystericks. Men of a delicate frame fell into convulsions. Some persons of rank, such as madame de Fleury, Messrs. Court de Gebelin, Bourgade, Lechevin, and others who were in a debilitated state of health, sunk under the operation.

To cure the dropsy, palsy, gout, deafness, blindness, &c. M. Mesmer, universal *doctor*, asserted, that with the end of a finger, or a little wand, he could direct the magnetic fluid to whatever part was the seat of the disease. He had surrounded his tubs with cords, loadstones, magnetized bars of iron, to which his patients applied their spleen, their chest, or any other affected part. M. Mesmer's pupils, to whom he had taught his secret, gently advanced their hands, and either by simple touching, or by friction, expelled the morbid humours.

The old men who had been witnesses to the farce acted in the church-yard of St. Ménard, by a party of impostors, who fell into convulsions on the tomb of the famous deacon Paris, could not but look with astonishment, at the end of the eighteenth century, on the credulity of the French nation. Doctor Mesmer affirmed, that with the tip of his finger, or by means of a wand, he could conduct the

animal magnetic fluid at his pleasure. He was proclaimed by his partisans *the saviour of the human race.* The academy of sciences and the royal society of medicine, on the other hand, proclaimed him the most artful of empirics. In consequence of this decision, there arose so violent a dispute between the mesmerists and the academicians, that at length it attracted the attention of government. The king appointed Franklin, Bailly, Guillotin, Leroi, Sollin, Darcet, de Bory, and Lavoisier, to examine the new doctrines. The experimental analysis demonstrated, that M. Mesmer was a man of talents, who had the art of inflaming the imagination, producing crises and convulsions, by agitating the nervous system; and of attributing the effect to an animal magnetic fluid, the existence of which was not proved. The reputation of Franklin, Bailly, Darcet, Guillotin, Levoisier, and Leroi opened the eyes of the public. Mesmer retained as his followers only those fanatics who believed that a malady might be cured by friction; as in the ages of ignorance it was believed, that the kings of France could cure the evil by the touch. These fanatic healers joined themselves to a party of martinists and disciples of Cagliostro, who asserted that they could bring the dead to life, and that they conversed, supped, and slept with Cæsar, Cleopatra, Semiramis, Marcus Aurelius, Henry IV., &c. We will now say a few words of this new set of impostors.

CHAP. XI.

The Affair of the Diamond Necklace—The House of Bourbon persecutes the Remains of the House of Valois—An Archduchess pursues with Rigour the last Branch of the ancient Sovereigns of Bretany—The Scandal of such a Proceeding—Progress of the Hatred conceived against the Queen—Implacability of that Princess—Fresh Details relative to that circumstance.

IT might be supposed that France, on these occasions, was nothing more than a country of puppets governed by children. Thoughtlessness, and inexperience, threw both the royal family and government into the most singular of all situations; I allude to the famous trial about the diamond necklace.

In this affair, an archduches of Austria, queen of France, was seen prosecuting the descendant of the sovereigns of Bretany in the person of cardinal Rohan; the house of Bourbon pursuing with unparelleled severity the house of Valois, and even branding its descendant with the infamous mark of a red hot iron. The noblest in the state was menaced with the axe of the executioner—he who was best qualified dreading the office.

A prostitute of the Palace Royal, in this affair, acted the part of the queen of France; and in what place? and at what hour? in the park of Versailles, at midnight. Of what nature was the object in question? to judge of the purloining of a necklace, originally intended for madame Dubarry. In fine, with what men had the first personages in the state to contend? with forgers, adventurers, like Villette, with *Bette-d'Etienvilles*, and creatures of the same class. If the baron Breteuil, who took charge of this affair, had possessed the least wisdom and prudence, he would have suppressed it in the beginning. The queen, equally incapable of reflection or reason, was enraged beyond all bounds. The cardinal Rohan, while in the function of grand almoner of France, was arrested on a day of solemnity in the king's palace.

Lewis XVI. aggravated the baron Breteuil's fault, in determining that the affair should be judged. He committed another yet more fatal error against his own interest, in permitting it to be discussed and judged in full parliament. Before that prince's reign, the sovereigns had always been very unwilling to entrust to this assembly, rival of the kingly power, any affairs that were at all connected with those of a political nature. Prejudice never failed to sacrifice the royal authority to its own interest. The queen resolved

that the cardinal should be punished—he probably might have been, had she wished that the parliament would have proved his innocence.

The substance of the strange affair of the necklace is very well known; but its circumstances are still enveloped in clouds. I cannot observe any thing either in the history or character of the queen, that could justify me in supposing her to have disposed of the jewels. Since it was so easy for her to procure millions of treasures, according to the account of her enemies, and that without endangering her reputation; how is it possible to imagine, that she would invent such complicated schemes and intrigues, and of which her mind was incapable, to find means of possessing herself of Bossange's diamonds?

Notwithstanding the sentence which pointed out the innocent and the culpable, this improper trial has fixed a stigma on the queen's memory in the minds of numbers of persons both in France, and all Europe. No conviction has altogether been able to destroy the suspicion, that the queen was in league with madame de Lamothe, to obtain the necklace. The cardinal Rohan always insisted, that none of the accused party had spoken the truth on the trial: adding, that he only had said *a part* of, but not the *whole truth*.

The queen might have been convinced during their proceedings, that she had lost the national

esteem. The general wish was, that the cardinal might be declared innocent: a few individuals of the queen's party talked of the propriety of sending him to the scaffold. The queen, who carried her zeal in her own cause so far, as to go to Paris to consult the magistrates of the parliament on the occasion, obtained some few voices to impeach the cardinal by an *hors de cour*. He was declared innocent by the majority of the parliament. Ten thousand persons of all conditions who waited the event in the avenues, and the apartments of the court, loaded the judges with plaudits, less to appear attached to the prelate, who was by no means popular, than indirectly to shew their dislike to the queen. Maria Antoinetta was thus at once convinced of the danger of intrusting her resentments to a parliament that detested her; but instead of yielding to the public clamour, she commanded the cardinal to be reconducted to the Bastille, whatever the sentence might be. The populace, without being disconcerted, followed the cardinal thither, loaded him with fresh benedictions, and never quitted the spot till the prison gates had closed upon him.

On another occasion the cardinal also experienced the advantage of the queen's hatred. Although an exile in an abbey buried in the mountains of Auvergne, he was nominated deputy at the meeting of the states general. The

queen might judge from this fresh proof, how odious she was both to the court and French nation; how detested in the capital, and even in the most distant of the provinces.*

* I found in the committee of general safety, among the king's papers, brought by the populace into the hall, the 10th of August, several notes and letters concerning the business of the necklace. They have not yet been made public, and I will subjoin them here.

NOTES

ON THE COUNT DE LAMOTHE.

No. I.

THE count de Lamothe received two wounds with a sword on his first arriving in London: he retired to Lancaster, where, during the trial at Paris, he was poisoned. Discovered by M. de Vergennes, who wrote to M. d'Adhemar to have him removed, police officers were dispatched for that purpose: Subois was at their head; a man named Carty, employed to conduct the business, had received a thousand guineas, his wife, an hundred pounds; and if he succeeded, he was to receive ten thousand guineas more. The fear of hanging deterred him. He revealed the whole to count d'Adhemar. The plot failing, Lamothe waited on M. d'Adhemar, accompanied by two servants, and assured him, that he was the cardinal's enemy. M. d'Adhemar replied: "I also am of the queen's party: the king has committed the examination of the affair to the parliament, and has found the cardinal guilty: he will be found guilty of course: and

the Rohans, wreſtling with the Bourbons, muſt certainly be cruſhed.—Therefore go to Paris, accuse the cardinal, become a prisoner for four and twenty hours. You will find both protectors and counsellors there. I will go and send off my secretary."

The trial over, M. d'Adhemar told M. de Lamothe, that the cardinal had been then acquitted for the buſiness of the necklace, but that he would not escape so easily from the complaints the attorney general was on the point of bringing forward against him, for his calumniating the queen.

He some days afterwards said to him, that the king was satisfied with depriving the Rohans of all their posts, and sending the cardinal to la Chaise Dieu, but he might be very certain that the queen would oppose the execution of this sentence.

Lamothe wrote to M. de Vergennes, blaming him: he sent him word that he ſhould be ſhortly out of office: and M. de Calonne aſſured the count de Lamothe, that he had been poisoned by the queen's order: that he, Calonne, had been sent for by the dying man, who charged him to acquaint the king.

No. II.

THE count de Lamothe seeing the cardinal de Rohan take his seat in the national assembly, wrote to that assembly, saying that he was going to constitute himself prisoner, for the repeal of his trial.

The sword and prison, said he, follow me into a foreign country. I found them even in the mountains of Scotland, where I endeavoured to find a retreat. There it was, that hearing of the insidious mode of defence my wife had been obliged to adopt, I wrote to her pretended protector, that I intended to surrender myself to the Bastille; but as my presence was dreaded, every means was employed to prevent my appearing. A minister, whose policy has been admired, an embassador in the pay of my enemies, have deceived me by false negotiations, till such time as the ignominious sentence that has dishonoured me, was pronounced against me, absent, and demanding to be heard, and my innocent wife. They found the secret of making her appear guilty.

No. III.

M. de Mirabeau gave himself the greatest trouble to obtain the reading, at leaſt, of the count de Lamothe's papers: he advised him to proceed

in the most open manner against Maria Antoinetta.

The count de Lamothe acquainted M. de Montmorin of it, who advised him to search into the nature of this intrigue.

As soon as it was decided that Mirabeau should not be minister, he spoke a different language to the count de Lamothe. He told him, that Monsieur had charged him with advantageous propositions to induce him to avoid an open rupture.

This was a new intrigue of Mirabeau's: he was extremely anxious to get possession of Lamothe's papers, but could not succeed.

M. DE LAMOTHE'S LETTER TO M. DE MONTMORIN.

Sept. 22, 1790.

"I HAVE always been ignorant, and still remain so, of the chain of that fatal intrigue which consigned to me some fragments of a necklace, bought by the cardinal Rohan for her majesty, the queen. I know that it has been proved, that the prelate received the necklace *in its entire state*, and that it never has been proved, that he gave it in that state to my wife. I also know that it was not she who signed Maria Antoinetta of France. It appears very absurd to suppose the grand almoner could ever have believed, that Maria Antoinetta of Auſtria would have ſigned,

in the manner the king's aunts or sisters would have done.

"My wife then has been deceived, and made the instrument of the cardinal's crime. The presents I received, and with which I have purchased property, were presents made by the queen.

"It has been proved in the trial, that the necklace was given in a perfect state by the jeweller, to the cardinal.

"Has it been proved that the prelate gave the jewels in that same state to my wife?

"Madame de Lamothe received of the fragments of the necklace, only such parts as were remarkable, and whose form might be easily traced—My wife gave me these stones which I sold, assuring me, they were a present from the queen. The gift was splendid; but it was an offering from the daughter of the Cæsars, to the sole surviving remains of the house of Valois, whose inheritance, the first crown in Europe, encircled the queen's brow.

"The episode of Mademoiselle Oliva appeared less natural to me. The cardinal was acquainted with the part she was to act. Whatever seemed to me extraordinary in this farce, disappeared before a number of facts that had every resemblance of reality. Whenever I expressed any curiosity, I was always silenced with—"the queen will have it so; she is our benefactor; respect her smallest

wishes." It was the cardinal, it was my wife who thus spoke: and who in my place would not have acted as I have done?

"I wished to fly to my wife's assistance. M. d'Adhemar well knows all the schemes devised by M. de Vergennes, to prevent me."

M. DE LAMOTHE TO THE KING.

Sire, *May* 5, 1792.

"When I surrendered myself prisoner, I expected, according to the promise M. Duport had given me, and the precautions he had taken, to have obtained, within the week, both my liberty, and the restoration of my property. During four months, I have been detained, and persecuted by a cabal, who ridicule my prudence, and wish to bring this business to an open trial.

"M. Duplane interrogated me in the most indecent manner; his questions had no other tendency than to endeavour to criminate the queen; and particularly to oblige her to appear at the public audience with me, as the necessary and accusing witness of the facts alleged in this horrid trial. Mess. Fournel and Riston, my counsel, indignant at such conduct, foreseeing its consequences, and observing that the public fell into the snare, have insisted on the *rapporteur* suspending the examination to make room for a rule of right, which I have the honour to lay before your ma-

jesty. M. Duplane, and his cabal, have caused it to be thrown out by the third tribunal. I solicit, by appeal, a sentence against this ejection, in the first tribunal of Paris, which has recently deprived M. Duplane of the instructions. Some ill-intentioned persons, by means of this delay, would wish to oblige that court to yield to the impulse they mean to endeavour to excite in the public mind, and to follow the plan of forcing the queen to appear, and thus renew those painful scenes. Their motives are unknown to me.—They have just engaged a man whose name is Gueffier, a bookseller of Paris, to buy the life of the countess of Lamothe, written by herself, and published in London. Before I surrendered myself prisoner, I acquainted M. Duport with the existence of that work, which is in fact written by madame de Lamothe, and which she sold on certain conditions, and to enable her to live, to a printer of London, who, on her returning him what he should have advanced, and defraying the expences, was to deliver her the work complete in French and English. Your majesty has, no doubt, been informed of these circumstances by M. Duport, who, at the time, interested himself in the business; and took some steps to buy up the work, and prevent its publicity. His endeavours, it seems, have been fruitless, since some copies of the French

edition have arrived at Rouen, and in a few days will be the property of this Gueffier, the bookseller. This is what the London printer, whom I saw two days since, assured me of. I communicated these circumstances to my counsel, who appear greatly alarmed on account of the public tranquillity, and that of your majesty and the queen, at the danger that attends the work being made public. They have decidedly advised me to have it seized, before its arrival at Paris, as the property of madame de Lamothe, and becoming mine by right of succession; but as the booksellers will claim their dues, I must be obliged to pay them, or else abandon the seizure, and I am not able to make the sacrifice of twenty thousand franks. My plan therefore is, if it please your majesty, to request my counsel to go to Rouen, seize, and put a seal on the work, and offer the price that madame de Lamothe left unpaid. It shall be remitted sealed and intire to M. de la Porte, who will do with it what shall seem good to your majesty. By this means, without criminating any one, I may reclaim, and withdraw from the hands of the evil-minded, the only arms which they now intend to employ to assist their schemes."

The affair of the necklace has been so clearly treated in the journals of the debates, and in so few words, that I will insert it here.

The year 1785, the 15th of August, the cardinal de Rohan was arrested at Versailles.

Bohmer, jeweller to the crown, had presented to the queen a diamond necklace of exquisite beauty, which he valued at sixteen thousand livres; the queen not chusing it, the jeweller was endeavouring to find a purchaser in a foreign country, when a lady, who called herself the countess de Lamothe Valois, went to his house, and told him, that the queen had changed her mind; that she would have the necklace, for which he should be payed at stated periods; but that she required that the transaction should be kept very secret: at the same time she shewed him a pretended letter from the queen. Bohmer, not thinking these assurances sufficient, required some more solid proof. Madame de Lamothe then promised to send him one of the first men at court to terminate the agreement, which she certainly did, since cardinal Rohan went to Bohmer's house, and concluded the arrangement for fourteen hundred thousand livres.*

The necklace was delivered to madame de Lamothe, on her presenting pretended notes from the queen payable at stated periods, the first was for four hundred thousand livres, and became due on the first day of August. The cardinal having

* About £58,333.

neglected to pay at the expiration of this term, Bohmer complained of it to a person belonging to the queen's household. He produced his proofs, among others, a letter written by the cardinal himself, in which he tells Bohmer, that the necklace had been delivered. So extraordinary a scheme appeared inconceivable to the queen, who was ten days in arranging and assembling the proofs, before she mentioned it to the king.

The 15th of August, the cardinal being arrived at Versailles to fulfil his function of grand almoner, was sent for at midnight into the king's cabinet; where he also found the queen. As soon as he entered, the king said, "You have purchased some diamonds of Bohmer?"—"Yes, Sire."—"What have you done with them?"—"I thought they had been delivered to the queen."—"Who employed you in this commission?"—"A lady of quality, named the countess de Lamothe, who brought me a letter from the queen; and I thought I was obliging her majesty by taking the charge of this commission." Here the queen interrupted him. "How could you think, sir, that I should have chosen *you*, to whom I have not spoken these eight years, to negociate such an affair, and that by means of such a woman?" "I plainly perceive," replied the cardinal, "that I have been cruelly deceived; the desire I had of pleasing her majesty, fascinated my senses: I saw no

deception in it, and I am sorry for it."—" But, sir," rejoined the king, presenting him a copy of his letter to Bohmer, " did you write a letter like this?"—The cardinal after casting his eye over it, " I do not recollect to have written it."—" And if the original were shewn you signed by yourself," —" If the letter be signed, it is true."—" Explain to me what is meant by all this business with Bohmer, these promises, and these notes." The cardinal visibly turned pale, and leaning against the table, said: " Sire, I am too much affected to be able to answer your majesty."——" Recover yourself, sir; and if our presence embarrass you, go into the adjoining cabinet: there you will find pen, ink, and paper, and write what you have to say in your justification."

The cardinal withdrew into the cabinet, and about a quarter of an hour afterwards, presented what he had written to the king. It consisted of a few lines, as enigmatical and confused as what he had spoken. The king then said: " Withdraw, sir; and let the duke of Villeroi have immediate notice." The cardinal instantly quitted the cabinet with the baron Bretueil, and was arrested by the duke of Villeroi, captain of the body guards, who gave him into the custody of the count d'Agont, adjutant-major, who conducted his prisoner to the Bastille.

Madame de Lamothe was arrested at Bar-sur-Aube, at her husband's seat, who was already

gone to England. At first she denied any knowledge of the affair for which she was arrested, and asserted, that they would gain much more light on the subject from Cagliostro, at whose house she had lived in the street Staint Cloude. The latter was arrested at the very moment of his departure for Lyons, whither he was going to establish an Egyptian lodge. This famous empiric, who boasted very seriously of having been present at the *marriage of* Cana in Gallilee, had acquired such power over the cardinal's mind, that he actually persuaded him at different times, that he was supping with Voltaire, Montesquieu, &c. The day before his being arrested, Cagliostro had permitted him to sup with Henry IV.

The king in the following September sent letters patent to the parliament, acquainting them with the affair. These letters breathed the greatest degree of displeasure. They began thus: "The king penetrated with the utmost indignation, at observing the means which, from the cardinal's own confession, have been employed, to criminate our dear, and honourable spouse and companion."

The trial took place in the beginning of the year 1786. The cardinal was honourably acquitted, and was released from the Bastille the first of May; but it was only to go into banishment at his abbey of Chaise-Dieu. Madame de La-

mothe was scourged, and branded with a hot iron the 21st of June, the same day that the king set out on his journey to Cherbourg. Cagliostro was banished from France; and as to the necklace, it had been divided into many portions, and sold, partly in England, and partly in Holland.

There were many other persons concerned in this trial, the principal of whom was madame Oliva, who resembled the queen both in gait and height, and who played the chief part on the terrace of Versailles. Madame de Lamothe, wishing to prove to the cardinal that the necklace had been safely delivered, told him that the queen would give him a token of her being satisfied. They went together to the terrace at eight o'clock; the pretended queen passed immediately after, and gave a rose to the cardinal, which he received with all the satisfaction imaginable.

CHAP. XII.

On the Death of M. de Maurepas——He receives the Authority from the vigorous hands of Aiguillon, Maupeou and Terray—He transmits it at his Death to Maria Antoinetta—Character of his Ministry.

IN recapitulating the events which took place in France during the administration of M. de Maurepas, in beholding a woman, deficient in capacity, arrogate to herself the chief influence that minister enjoyed, we cannot help lamenting the too easy disposition of Lewis XVI. and the fate of France.

M. de Maurepas, during a seven year's ministry, laid the foundation of all the events which followed it. It is true, that he found France weakened by its general morals; but the government still retained sufficient vigour for its support. Maupeou, Terray, d'Aiguillon, were odious only to those who encouraged a spirit of innovation. They possessed the art of maintaining their authority, and of repressing vice. Maurepas, appointing to succeed them, Necker, Malesherbes and Turgot, governed France according

to opposite principles. M. de Maurepat might reasonably be pardoned for his choice of the two last ministers, Malesherbes and Turgot, for their talents, probity, and delicacy, were so renowned, that it should seem, this ancient Mentor could not have made a better selection among all the ministerial corps: but was he not warned and told by every order in the state, of the dangerous tendency of Mr. Necker's conduct, who continued his administration after the same plan? M. de Maurepas, notwithstanding this, temporised so much in his favour, that he suffered him to augment all the destructive measures of the ancient administration, after having relaxed its springs. M. de Maurepas possessed neither character, firmness, foresight, nor any great fund of morality. He had a superficial mind, was so fond of a *bon mot*, and so ignorant of the speculation of a statesman, that he contented himself with a witticism in reply to the subversive measures of Turgot and Necker. Though totally deficient in those abilities necessary to repress the tendency of the public mind towards a new political system; and, ignorant of every salutary scheme to counteract its effects, or of forming any plan that might serve to disarm the contest which daily became more violent between authority and licentiousness, the power of the first state in Europe was seen to pass from the vigorous grasp of Maupeou and Terray, into his en-

feebled hands. At his death, this power devolved to Maria Antoinetta, at that time the detestation of all France, and at all times incapable of governing the kingdom, as much on account of the suspicion the nation entertained of her patriotism, as from her incapacity.

Madame de Chateau-Roux, a woman of superior wit and understanding, drew the picture of M. de Maurepas during his first ministry in a single word. She used to call him *count Faquinet.* The naval department was then intrusted to him, and as the royal authority at that period existed in all its force, M. de Maurepas' *bon mots* were not to be dreaded.

But under Lewis XVI. the Mentor of the king and the nation could not act with impunity. His principal operations are all so many eras in the revolutionary progression of the public mind; his secondary operations are its means or their consequences.

CHAP. XIII.

View of the Republic of Letters in France prior to the Revolution, and the first Assembly of the Notables—Academies succeeding to Universities develop the human Mind by the Force of Experiment, and Neglect of the Arts of Argumentation—To the Art of painting Nature, which prevailed in the Reign of Lewis XIV., succeeds that of Reasoning under those of Lewis XV. and Lewis XVI.—Literature under Lewis XIV. is the Support and Ornament of the State—Under Lewis XVI. it is its Destruction—Deprive Lewis XIV. of his great Literary Characters, the Royal Authority remains intire—Take away, in idea, those of the Reign of Lewis XVI. viz. Rousseau, Raynal, Voltaire, &c. and the State experiences no Revolution—Peculiar Characteristic of the Abbey Raynal's Writings—Picture of the Literary Societies of the Capital.

THE literary labours of several ages had prepared the human mind for that state in which it was found at the period of the first assembly of the notables.

Prior to the reign of cardinal Richelieu, the national instruction was confined to teaching the religion of the state and the laws only, or in pursuing or resisting heterodoxical tenets. Physic, and scholastic philosophy were the highest attainment of national learning.

The institution of academies forms an era in the history of the human mind. The art of ex-

periment succeeding the art of discussion, the human faculties, which, since the time of Charlemagne, had scarcely made the smallest progress in the sciences, suddenly extended their limits. Scholastic learning was then banished to the cloister and seminary. From the seventeenth century, mankind became less addicted to criticims, commentaries, and erudition. The human mind becoming sensible to the attractions of the fine arts, aimed at inventing and creating; and thus has immortalized the brilliant reigns of Lewis XIII. and XIV.

France during the seventeenth century was occupied only on vast designs. This era is the heroic age of the French monarchy. Powerful enemies humbled; dissenting sects subdued by force; one only religion triumphant; civil wars quelled; a ceremonial, a court, and dignified amusements; a monarchy naturally active and victorious, at the peace of Nimeguen, over all Europe; a sovereign of a decisive character, firm, haughty, enterprising; the friend of literature and the arts—this combination of circumstances had been so favourable to literature, that during, a whole century the sons of genius devoted themselves solely to painting the beauties of nature in the style and with all the charms of the oriental writers.

At this period the seditious passions being lulled to rest, made room for the more social and en-

gaging ones, and the pleasures of representation began to prevail. By degrees the national language became that of all Europe. Its extent is sufficient to express all the various branches of the sciences, and harmony of the fine arts. Joined to its primitive characteristic, its local simplicity, it possessed every requisite to vary all the modulations of refinement, and mental perception. The French language, like the languages of all the ancient nations most susceptible of the beautiful, embraces the sublime, the tender, the tragic, the comic, in fact, every energy or passion which could be unfolded by the court or capital, worthy the attention of the enlightened observer.

Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, the genius of literature, assumed a new character, and engaged in the deeper studies of the sciences; afterwards, about the middle of the same century, it cultivated philosophy rather than the graces of poetry and the belles lettres, which had distinguished the preceding age.

Accordingly, when all the faculties of the human mind had been exercised during two literary ages, when the erudition and commentaries of the sixteenth century, and the imagination and poetic fire of the seventeenth, had successively developed both the fancy and the understanding, and had renovated in France the enchanting reigns of Pericles and

Augustus, the human mind appeared exhausted by the exertion of so bold a flight. The decaying government no longer offered objects of equal magnitude to the contemplation. Mankind began now to think less of painting the charms, and more of studying the laws of nature and of man. Then began the reign of philosophy and the modern sciences.

Not that the age of Lewis the XIV. had not already produced men of learning, as that of Lewis XV. had produced great poets; but still it is but just to observe, that as the taste for the beautiful distinguished the seventeenth century, so the taste for truth and philosophic science prevailed in the eighteenth, which is just terminated.

It is worthy of remark, that if the character and style of government contributed, under Lewis XIV., to form the authors of the seventeenth century, so the character and style of the authors, under Lewis XV., and Lewis XVI. formed on the contrary the mind of the nation, and in some degree, produced also a change in its morals.

Under Lewis XIV., the superiority of the state over the republic of letters, and its independance of all literary opinions, were so well established, that, supposing, for example, such persons as Moliere, Racine, la Fontaine, Bossuet, &c. and their writings had never existed in France, the

monarchy would still have remained entire, and the authority have been to this day energetic and respected.

Under Lewis XV., on the contrary, the preponderancy of the republic of letters over the government had so great an influence, that if you suppress the works of Voltaire, Mably, Helvetius, Raynal, Necker, Diderot, &c. you suppress also the genius and character of the present generation; its new doctrines, its active and powerful opinions, which have overthrown the nation, changed the system of human affairs, and transformed the monarchical genius of France into a spirit of anarchy and rebellion.

The three first monarchs of the house of Bourbon constantly patronised literature and men of learning, as the ornaments of their authority. The sovereign alotted them an apartment in his palace, gave them pensions, and treated them with great consideration. Under Lewis XV. our literary men became philosophical reformers of the social institution, and under Lewis XVI. the republic of letters, entered into rivalship, in some measure, by its influence, credit, and renown, with government itself. At the commencement of the king's reign, some of these celebrated philosophers had already finished their career; but Rousseau, Voltaire, Raynal, &c. were still living, and enjoyed the renown their

works had acquired them. Has the public forgotten the impatience of the great to see Voltaire, and the enthusiasm of the Parisians, when the philosopher of Ferney arrived at Paris? Has it forgotten the jealousy of the court and the clergy on that occasion? At that period M. de Voltaire had entirely destroyed, to the prejudice of the nobility, several prerogatives belonging to the second order of the monarchy. He had attacked, as so many prejudices, whatever the ancient constitution had imagined either right or wrong to subjugate the people. Montesquieu, who had analised every species of government, and had drawn and presented to the choice of the revolutionists, all the varieties of authority, was almost deified. The state, under Lewis XVI. had decreed him a statue. J. J. Rousseau, moral in his writings, too austere to dare, like Voltaire, either to ridicule or destroy, having amassed materials to new model, under different forms, another government, still lived in the forest of Ermonville, and was considered as a very profound genius. Boulanger, Freret, Lamettrie, d'Argens, Toussaint, &c. were no more; but Diderot, Mably, and D'Alembert, who were drawing towards their dissolution, felt the force of their writings on their contemporaries. All those authors, who had accelerated the destruction of the clergy and noblesse, enjoyed the success of their plans, and a degree

of respect and consideration superior, in many respects, to that paid to the peers of the realm.

Thus, at the beginning of the king's reign, persons from twenty to thirty years of age, that is to say, that part of the present generation who effected the revolution, were already prepared for the greatest political events. The philosophers who had either conceived or advised it, and had flourished in the preceding reign, had obtained the distinguished place they have since occupied in the history of the revolution. The opinion of the age was of such a nature respecting them, that the court, after having long persecuted them, was at length convinced, that it had only bestowed on them patents of glory and immortality, according to the ideas of the times.

Such was the state of the republic of letters, and the revolutionary spirit which animated it under the reign of Lewis XVI., when the Abbé Raynal, seeing the national attention entirely engaged with the commerce of India, and the troubles of America, published the second edition of his history. The philosophers who had preceded him, had in general contented themselves with forming theories, systems, and a new doctrine on natural religion and government: Raynal, in his writings, joins practice to theory, and lays

down the tragical scenes of a revolution. So early as 1779, he taught the mode of dispersing the clergy, and carrying slaughter into the palaces of kings.

"When I was a priest," says he, "I used to preach, at St. Eustace's, for a three-livre piece, things that I neither did, nor could believe."—These expressions, which would have caused him to be burned in Rome, and in other times, in France also, were permitted under Lewis XVI.; were laughed at and repeated.

There were at that period, in the capital, several free societies, whose history is not on record, where literary men periodically assembled, and were the vehicles by which many truths were sent into the world, which it was not as yet so easy to propagate by means of the press. The forms of these societies were such, that the government had no plea to prevent their deliberations, which were always conducted with decorum and politeness. The most enlightened persons of the capital, and even of the court, met several times in the week at the houses of D'Alembert, baron Holbach, madame de Beauharnais; madame Helvétius, madame de Bocage, madame Geoffrin, madame Quinault, madame de Bourdie, &c. &c. with the intention of enquiring into the state of the public mind, the new discoveries in the sciences, and the progress of the national and

religious reform. I frequented several of these societies during the existence of the monarchy: the new opinions, that were one day to become so formidable to the established authority, were discussed there; but always with that precaution which the interest of the master of the house seemed to demand. Very different from those visits of form and ceremony among the polite world, where fear and circumspection in conversing on ministerial affairs, were absolutely essential and proper; this literary reunion of philosophers, statesmen, artists, or amateurs, &c. examined questions beyond the vulgar reach; discussed the most secret concerns both of the church and state; and preceded, in the progression of events, which at length led the kingdom on to a different constitution, those clubs established at a common cost, which were opened and organized, particularly in 1787, at the Palais Royal, to enable their members to prepare with less restraint the offensive and defensive system of the republic of letters against the court of Versailles.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Interiour Disputes which agitated the Republic of Letters, towards the Period of the Revolution, concerning religious Tenets—Confession of Malesherbes, and Raynal.

MODERN philosophy had scarcely appeared in France, ere the Jesuits, the archbishop of Paris, the notables of the clergy, perceiving its aim, raised up the abbé Desfontaines, towards the middle of the century, to defend the cause of religion. The resentment of Voltaire, and several others of the first philosophers against him, is well known.

Freron, the abbé Delaporte, and other ecclesiastics of the company of Jesus, succeeded him. Their energy was the same both in the offensive and defensive part of the argument.

It is in the periodical works of these defenders of the church and state, that we should now look for the prophecies and menaces relative to the state of France.

It is now also, after the event, that we should compare with the writings of Diderot, D'Alem-

bert, Condorcet, Raynal, Thomas, Laharpe, Jaucourt, &c. those of Aubert, Clement, Sabatier-de-Castres, Rigoley-de-Juvigny, Linguet, Luneau-de-Bois-Germain, Grozier, Fontenay Royou, Pompignan, &c. The result of this parallel, however, will not prove, that we ought to attribute to the philosophers and economists an intention or desire of deluging France by those torrents of evil which the revolution has poured upon her. The greater part of the philosophical and systematic, as well as the ecclesiastical writers, were a class of men of strict probity, attached to their country, and writing in general with the purest intentions. Enthusiasm alone betrayed several into error. I have considered with great attention and impartiality the heads of both parties: I observed in Raynal and D'Alembert, as much real worth as in Luneau and Pompignan. On both sides I could perceive an inveterate and concealed hatred, the common effect of factions; but I affirm, that it would be unjust to accuse either religion or philosophy with the misfortunes of the state. Bad actions, no doubt, were committed under each of these names, and these actions will deserve the animadversions of posterity.

The subsequent conduct of the modern philosophers, is a convincing proof of the uprightness of their intentions in publishing their works. Observe the repentance of Raynal, as he contemplates the

scenes of carnage, he had himself counselled in the ebullition of a heated imagination. See the remorse of Marmontel, who expired with a deep and rooted sorrow for having contributed, by his writings, to stir up the French against the national worship.

Very few Frenchmen have disavowed so openly as M. de Malesherbes all belief in Christianity; very few have contributed more to the propagation of philosophical ideas. He died in the full conviction, that an empire was not to be governed by the opinions and systems of modern philosophy. In the year 1792, he expressed himself to me nearly as follows, "We had the best intention in the world, both M. Turgot and myself; and yet we were both in error. We aimed at governing the French, not as they were in reality, but as we wished them to be, and as our hearts supposed them. Our very probity was injurious to our contemporaries, free in every respect to live as they had been brought up, and to believe what they thought proper; while we had no right to subject them either to our severity of conduct, or our independence of opinion. We were led astray by our enthusiasm. Our principles having been introduced into the government, we used our power according to the best of our judgment, and that judgment has proved erroneous. I can form no idea in what manner the present events

will terminate, and yet I must allow that from one pretended state of perfection to another, we have been led on thus far, the nation, though always in error, still believing each time that it adhered to the right principles."

The abbé Raynal expressed himself to the same purport to me, at Chaillot, at the period when he presented himself to the national assembly, to point out the precipice to which they were conducting France, and to shew them the faults of their past measures. I mention these two examples to prove, that in general the writings of the philosophers, which have contributed to influence the opinions of the nation, were not published with an intention of either sowing the seeds of anarchy in the public mind, or of causing the disorganization of their country.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Disputes and Factions existing in the Interior of the Clergy of France—Their Publications injure their own Body—Portraits of the religious and philosophic Party immediately before the breaking out of the Revolution.

THE loud and violent disputes between the pious bishops and the ministerial and philosophical bishops still continued, and announced to the eyes of a calm observer, a speedy dissolution.

The religious party were neither deficient in zealous nor bold defenders of their cause.

The party accused of irreligion, had also defenders out of its own bosom, and much temerity and credit.

At the head of the religious party was M. de Juigné, archbishop of Paris, who was of a timid disposition, naturally beneficent, and little fitted for cabals. He was seconded by a man of great talents, Beauvais, bishop of Senez, who had conducted himself with singular courage towards the late king, and had even represented to him the vices of which the nation accused him. In this party were also M. Dulau, archbishop of Arles, distinguished for his knowledge in ecclesiastical sciences, and all clerical affairs; the bishop of

Orange, who performed the functions of a simple village curate, and was adored by the people for his charity, and care of the sick; and the aged Pompignan, archbishop of Vienne, a man whose virtues and simplicity of manners resembled those of ancient times, yet whom M. de Voltaire has dared to calumniate and degrade in the eyes of his contemporaries. He presided over the popular party in the insurrection in Dauphiné, and the three united orders in the constituent assembly, and was animated by a true zeal for the public welfare. In this party were likewise seen, the archbishop of Sens, cardinal Luynes, who joined to the true apostolical virtues and simplicity, the enlightened mind of a member of the academy of sciences; the bishops of Amiens and of Saint Paul, too zealous, perhaps, for the age in which they live; but men of the purest morals, and entirely devoted to the good of their fellow creatures. I could mention many other persons, equally respectable for their superiour virtues and rare piety; and I could join to them the fifty-eight curates of Paris, without the apprehension of being contradicted in a single instance by my contemporaries.

This coalition of religious persons displayed their zeal on extraordinary occasions. It was they who thus addressed the ferocious monsters of the second of September: "You may murder us, but

you will never make us take the oath you impose on our consciences!"—I saw them, at the death of Christopher de Beaumont, unanimous in opposing the election of M. de Loménie, a prelate notorious both for his profligate morals and opinions. The king revoked an election of this nature.

This party was penetrated with sorrow, especially on beholding atheism introduced into the sacerdotal order, and even into the department which possessed the nomination to benefices. M. de Marbeuf having been accused of favouring the philosophical faction of the clergy of France, the zealous declaimed loudly in their writings, presented addresses to the king, and multiplied their complaints. The coalition of M. de Marbeuf, minister of the department of benefices, and the archbishops of Bordeau, Aix, and Toulouse was no sooner known, than that minister was assailed from every side. The pamphlets and *letters of a marquis* are well remembered: being the production of a partisan of the archbishop of Paris, they were read with eagerness in the capital, and are become a monument of the state of the French clergy. "From the first instant that the king raised you to the important office you fill," says the author of the letters to M. de Marbeuf, "I dare assert, and I can prove it, that, except those nominations that his majesty has made of his own accord, and against your inclination,

there has not been one which indicated a religious ministry. You daily add to the number of your misdeeds, by presentations more and more criminal: during your administration, irreligion, libertinism, avarice, prodigality, infidelity, even atheism, seem to have been the only titles for obtaining benefices by the royal nomination. To what suspicions, my lord, does not your conduct give birth? Some compare you to one of your predecessors, M. de Jarente, whose practice of simony went so far, that he always sold the benefices to the highest bidders. Others declare that you are on good terms with a banker at the court of Rome, from whom you draw considerable sums, by following this system of preferment. I give you notice, sir, that these frauds will be denounced to the states general. In how strange a manner do you abuse your credit! You have caused a gratification of forty thousand livres to be granted to the suicide bishop of Grenoble, to repair his episcopal palace. I have seen these repairs: the outside of this palace resembles an house of licentious entertainment, the fabric recently constructed at Paris, under the appellation of the *Ridoute Chinoise*. It was you who gave two abbeys to a nun, the concubine of M. de Brienne, who resided at his palace at Paris, during his administration, and who sold his favours. It is true, report says that you do not always act as you please in your admi-

37612

nistration; that the queen's favourite, her lecturer, and director, the abbé Vermont, gives the law to you as to the rest of the ministers. It is said likewise, that he disposes of offices as well as benefices, and that he is guided by an invisible power, (that of the queen) concealed behind the curtain. This my lord would be a proper occasion to enforce the councel of the scriptures: 'If your eye offend you, pluck it out;' but unfortunately, prelates are at present blind."

The author of these writings declaims afterwards against the archbishops of Aix, Bordeau, and Toulouse, the reputed columns of the philosophical sect, introduced into the clergy of France,

CHAP. XIV.

The prevailing Morals of the Court and the City in the two Extremes of Civil Society towards the Approaches of the Revolution—The Queen's Reputation, authorises the great Almoner of France to accede to an improper Rendezvous—Women of notorious Fame, find means by their Influence to destroy the Reputation of several virtuous Ladies.

I SHALL confine myself to the simple mention of two facts judicially proved, to shew the depraved state of morals in France, and that I may not be accused of calumny by contemprorary writers.

Some philosophers have advanced, and still continue to do so, that the human species is daily appproaching nearer to perfection. Notwithstanding this assertion, history proves, that immorality during the eighteenth century was always on the increase.

The generation that I observed before the revolution, had attained to such a state of degradation, that the queen on one hand, and women of public fame on the other, had, I do not say *a conduct, but certainty a reputation* nearly equivalent.

We have seen a grand almoner of France, a bishop of Strasbourg, a cardinal of the Roman

church, legally convicted of having gone in person, during the obscurity of night, into the park of Versailles, to a place known to be the haunt of libertinism, to reconcile himself to the queen. Maria Antoinetta consequently had the reputation of daring to frequent, at improper hours, such obscure and suspected places. In some of the parliamentary debates, one party proposed to impeach the cardinal for having had even a suspicion of the queen's agreeing to such a rendezvous. The opposite party became turbulent, and cited together the reputation of the queen, and that of Maria Leczinska.

On the other side, the audacity of the women of public fame was carried to the greatest height: they even had sufficient influence to ruin, by their machination, the reputation of several virtuous ladies. The circumstances I am going to relate deserve atttention.

Lewis XV. had carried the national morals to such a state of licentiousness, that the annals of our history afford no examples of the same nature. In imitation of the court ladies, the most distinguished women of the capital quitted their homes, to enjoy the hidden pleasures that women of bad fame procured them. An hundred anecdotes are related of husbands, who surprised their wives in nocturnal and shameful excesses. Some ladies still more depraved, frequented the houses of

the most scandalous and abandoned females, to partake of their infamous orgies. All persons of virtue and delicacy gave their suffrages in favour of young d'Aguesseau de Fresne, who once had the courage to denounce the crime grown to the most daring height of profligacy.

The notorious prostitutes Gourdan, Brisson, and Montigny, wishing to separate a handsome young woman from her husband, gave in each a certificate, stating, that they had received her at their house, as they had done so many others. The descendant of the great d'Aguesseau, indignant at this audacity of vice, which thus trafficked with the reputation of others, demanded the execution of the law against public prostitution; and it was every day expected that these three women would be sentenced to the punishment inflicted by the ancient laws: but the libertinism of the age was more powerful than the laws of the empire.

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

SEVENTH EPOCH;

OR

The Administration of M. DE CALONNE, *and the first Assembly of the Notables.*

Peace would have opened a new career to hope, if the king had not intrusted the most important office of the administration of the finances to a man more worthy of being the hero of a court, than the minister of a king. M. de Calonne's morals were in contrast with those of Lewis XVI., and I am at a loss to conceive, by what arguments, or what influence, this prince was persuaded to give a place in his council to a magistrate, acknowledged, indeed, as amiable in the most elegant societies of Paris; but whose levity and principles were dreaded by all France. How many hours of regret must have followed this imprudent administration, in which money was profusely squandered, bribes daily multiplied, every favour granted, economy made a subject of ridicule, and, in short, folly carried to such a height, that he dared even to assert, that the vastness of the expenditure, animating the circulation, was the real source of public credit.

NECKER, *on the French Revolution, vol.* 1. *sec.* 1.

CHAP. I.

Portrait of M. de Calonne—Summary of his Administration—Immorality of his Agency—It increases the Resentment of the French against the Queen.

THE epigraph of this seventh epoch, furnished us by M. Necker, is the faithful picture of M. de Calonne's administration. This magistrate possessed rather the fascinating but vitiated morals of a courtier, than the austere qualities which become a minister of the finances. He had the talent of proposing the most oppressive measures with the utmost suavity of manner, and of enforcing them in the playful language of mirth. In his official capacity, he displayed considerable wit, activity, readiness, and temerity.

Cum tempus posceret laboriosus, patiens, liber, splendidus, affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime inserviens. Amore quoad licitum est odiosa multa delicate jocoseque fecit.

Cornelius Nepos, speaking thus of Alcibiades, gave the true picture of M. de Calonne.

At the time that this magistrate was called to the administration, the court was perfectly fatigued by the scruples of M. d'Ormesson.

The queen enjoyed a degree of influence and credit sufficient to nominate to the ministry. The house of Polignac was the centre of intrigue.—Could a man of integrity and probity, at the resignation of M. d'Ormisson, have accepted the management of the finances? M. de Calonne, whose reputation was indifferent, had the temerity to undertake it.

Secret manœuvres in different purchases and exchanges made in the king's name, were the first accusation brought against his administration. To this sort of underhand dealing was chiefly attributed the clandestine source of his rapid fortune, and the payment of his debts. The king possessed several magnificent country residences: M. de Calonne purchased Rambouillet for him, for fourteen millions. Saint Cloud for the queen cost fifteen; while the palaces of Choisy, Muette, &c. were abandoned. The acquisition of Clermontois, of the county of Sancerre, and some others, revolted the public mind. The enterprise of Cherbourg, the barriers of Paris, those pompous offices for the clerks, led to expences that ought to have been deferred to a more favourable period, supposing they had been necessary. These barriers, which cost twelve millions, still remain and are monuments of the folly of this minister. At the barrier of the fauxbourg Saint Antoine are two pillars, an hundred feet in height: and for what

purpose were they raised? that two turrets might be constructed in them. It was proposed to M. de Calonne, as he had so great a taste for piling up stones without necessity, to erect some monuments worthy the attention of posterity and of Europe. I have read addresses in which it was recommended to him, instead of those barriers of an unknown and incongruous taste, to enclose Paris with some monuments of art in the Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Moorish, Gothic, Italian, and French styles. Paris would thus have offered to the view, the history of architecture in all its various branches. The spectator would have admired, not the capricious taste of an individual, however sublime and ingenious his ideas; but the progress of the human mind throughout the different eras of one of the earliest of the arts. M. de Calonne's genius was incapable of such elevated conceptions; and he therefore gave us barriers.

In a short time these complaints increased. The public considered the melting down the coin as an affair of mere sordid interest, and the advantages he afforded to stock jobbing, as so many artifices to cover his insidious measures with the veil of concealment. He was accused of a fraudulent extension of the loans: and the bad reputation he had acquired in his former office, was the more confirmed in the public mind.

M. de Calonne is repoached with having continued the grievance of loans. The sum was estimated at nearly seven hundred millions, and yet the nation was at peace. The queen was accused of having metamorphosed this comptroler of the finances into a cashier of the emperor, of Vaudreuil, of count d'Artois, and above all, of the Polignacs. The pomp and luxury of these favourites was such, that it would be difficult to exculpate M. de Calonne. He very shortly after shared with the queen, the count d'Artois, and the favourites, the resentment of the nation. The king on this occasion talked of removing him; M. de Calonne kept off the storm for six months prior to convoking the notables, by promising his sovereign a vast plan of abundance. The king preserved this address among his papers.

CHAP. II.

M. Calonne's Memorial to Louis XVI.—To avert the Storm that threatens him, he promises to restore the State of the Finances by Means of a vast Project.

SIRE,

"I WILL not recapitulate the dreadful state of the finances when your majesty deigned to confide them to my care. It is not without shuddering that one must remember, that at that time there was neither money nor credit; that the exigible debts were immense, the revenues in advance, the resources annihilated, the public effects without value, the coin impoverished and without circulation, the *caisse d'escompte* empty, the *ferme generale* on the point of bankruptcy, and the royal treasury reduced to two bags of 1200 livres.

I am far from intending to boast of the success of those measures, which, from the steady support afforded them by your majesty, speedily restored the abundant circulation of specie, regularity in the payments, public confidence evinced by the rise in the different funds, and the highest degree of credit both at home and abroad. I will forbear to enumerate the variety of moral and physical evils, I have had to sur-

mount; how much the inclemency of the season has added to the expenditure; how liberally your majesty has contributed to the relief and support of the people; and what hope may not reasonably be founded for the future, on the astonishing activity which prevails in every branch of commerce. But it is my duty forcibly to represent to your majesty the absolute importance of the present crisis; it is a dreadful perplexity concealed under the most tranquil and secure appearance; it is the positive necessity of resorting to such immediate measures as are calculated to fix the fate of the nation.

"It must be owned, sire, that France, at this time, is upheld by a species of deception: should the illusion, which supplies the place of reality, be dissipated, should the confidence, inseparable in such a moment from personality, be suddenly withdrawn, what would be our destiny, with a deficiency of a hundred millions, annually? It is of the utmost consequence, no doubt, to fill up, if it be possible, a vacuum so enormous. This can be effected only by extraordinary means: and that such may not prove repugnant to your majesty's mind, they must not add to the weight of the taxes, nay, they must tend to lower them; and the plan, I have formed, appears to me the only one, which can bring about the solution of a problem in itself so difficult. I dare believe,

that no other has been conceived so vast in its design, nor so worthy of dignifying your reign, insuring the happiness of your future life, and at the same time adding to the prosperity of your empire. Full of this mighty object, which demands the most laborious exertions, and for the success of which, I would willingly sacrifice my existence, all I request of your majesty is, to afford me, till I shall have accomplished the plan, as much support, and appearance of favour, as I shall stand in need of, in order to enable me to possess the requisite energy to carry me through. It will require perhaps only six months, certainly not more than a year; after which your majesty will dispose of me according to your royal will and pleasure. I shall then have followed the most ardent impulse of enthusiasm for your glory, and may say:

Nunc dimittis servum tuum, domine."

Immediately after this memorial follows one against the scheme of Yvette. I pass it over in silence, as a business of mere detail; but I publish M. Calonne's memorial, which induced the king to convene the notables: this instrument has not yet been laid before the public.

CHAP. III.

Calonne's Memorial to the King on the Necessity of convening the Notables, on the Time of calling them together, and the Mode of forming the Assembly.

SECTION I.

NECESSITY OF CONVENING IT.

"A PLAN, which tends to correct the vices of the constitution, to bring back the different component parts of the Monarchy to an uniformity of principles, and to give them that harmony of which they stand in need; to fix the land-tax on an equitable foundation, and to render subservient to it the different orders of the kingdom, without any exception or regard to any privileges; to establish a form of national deliberation, which, far from being injurious to royal authority, may strengthen all its operations; to give new existence to agriculture and commerce by the abolition of customs and duties, which impede the sale and circulation of productions, both natural and artificial; to relieve the people, by suppressing such places as are the most burthen-

some to the nation, and most likely to produce grievances; to regulate, by a new and more advantageous method, what concerns the crown-lands; in fine, to adopt certain and more efficacious measures, than have as yet been resorted to for the purpose of improving the state of the finances; of introducing order into that department, by balancing the income and the expenditure, which has never, as yet, been the case; to make some economical reductions, apply a remedy to the excesses of anticipation, insure the discharge of the national debt, and lay the foundation of public credit on the broadest possible basis: a scheme of this nature assuredly challenges the most serious investigation, and the most solemn and authentic sanction.

"It must be presented in a form the most capable of preventing delay, and of endowing it with immoveable strength by the united suffrages of the whole nation.

"An assembly of the notables, alone, can accomplish this end. It is the only mean of preventing all parliamentary opposition, all ecclesiastical reclamation, and of so firmly fixing the public opinion, that the voice of private interest shall not dare to oppose the preponderating object of the general good.

"There were assemblies of the notables held in 1558, 1583, 1596, 1617, and in 1626; no one

of which was convoked on an occasion of so much importance as the present; and at no period have events been more favourable to insure success: as the actual situation of affairs demands an extraordinary plan, so it is necessary to employ extraordinary means for its accomplishment.

"The tranquillity which prevails at present through all Europe; the profound respect which is every where paid to the virtues of the monarch; the nature of the projected measures, which are all founded in justice and benevolence; the attention of the nation; the disposition of the public mind; even the common interest of the people to preclude all cause for repentance, being the consequence of a convocation; every circumstance seems to afford the most perfect idea of security as to the issue of this meeting; which, as there is every reason to anticipate, must ultimately prove satisfactory to his majesty."

SECTION II.

PERIOD OF THE CONVOCATION.

"It is practicable and necessary that the assembly should open on the twenty-fourth of January next.

"There is sufficient time for the convocation, if the writs for that purpose be issued and dispatched in the course of a week, so that they

may all reach their destination on the first day of January.

"The most trifling delay might overturn this plan, and render its execution impossible for the ensuing year, perhaps for ever.

"Your majesty will be convinced of its urgency, if you will be pleased to consider, that the receipts of the tax in kind, which is the first and most essential among the proposed regulations, must be assessed in every parish throughout the kingdom; that such assessment must take place in the beginning of April, that it may precede the getting in of any kind of crop; that it must be preceded by public notice, given on three successive Sundays, and that consequently the notices must begin about the middle of March; that the natural time of sitting of the assembly being continued without interruption, the transmission of the legislative acts, which must immediately follow, and their being registered in the different courts, will take up a period of six weeks; and that, therefore, from the twenty-fourth of January to the middle of March, there would be no more than the precise time necessary to effect this great object: and thus not a moment is to be lost in preventing the irreparable delay of a whole year, and the nation falling into the most dreadful disorders; disorders of a nature perhaps that no remedy could be applied to them.

"For these reasons, the 24th of January is earnestly insisted upon, as well as the quick dispatch of the writs or letters of convocation."

SECTION III.

MODE OF FORMING IT.

"THE composing an assembly of the notables depends solely on the king; and it is evident from the account of those formerly held, that they were all different both as to the number and rank of the members.

"The nature of these assemblies shews, that they should unite the most distinguished and the best informed individuals of every order in the state.

"There are three conditions which seem necessary to be observed.

"The first, that all those who are invited to this august consultation should be men of consequence, worthy of public confidence; and such, that their votes may have a due influence over the general opinion.

"The second, that they should be attached to the royal cause, anxious to do good, enemies to cabals, and free from prepossession; that there may be no reason to apprehend a spirit of opposition prevailing in the assembly, and silencing the voice of genuine patriotism.

"As it is customary to convene the first presidents and the attorneys general of the sovereign courts, which consist at present of thirteen parliaments, and two superiour councils; as it has also been the invariable custom to add the chamber of accompts and the court of aids of Paris, which, with the preceding, form together the seventeen sovereign courts, the number of members would amount to thirty-four, or rather to thirty-six or seven, if the parliament of Paris, as appears natural, should have the privilege of sending two or three more than the rest.

"This number of magistrates of the courts of justice, and which ought to be counterpoised in the assembly, seems to require, that the assembly itself should be more numerous, than those held at a time when there were fewer parliaments. It would be improper that those, who already enjoy the advantage of practice in public affairs, should also have that of superiority of numbers.

"Besides, it is not probable that they would be the most satisfied part of such an assembly; and as on the other side the clergy also will find a subject of reclamation, it appears necessary, that the members taken from the class of the nobility, or of the *tiers-etats*, should be in sufficient number to give the king more partizans and fewer opponents.

"In consequence of these various considerations, the following project for an assembly

has been formed, in order to be submitted to your majesty's decision, who is better qualified than any one else to determine what members are proper to be either admitted or excluded."

PLAN OF THE LIST.

Opening of the General Assembly.

THE KING.

Monsieur. The count d'Artois.

The duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé, the duke of Bourbon, the prince of Conti, the duke of Penthièvre.

The Keeper of the Seals, marshal de Castries, marshal de Segur, the count de Vergennes, baron Breteuil, the comptroller General.

Assembly of the Notables.

CLERGY.

The archbishops of Paris, Rheims, Narbonne, Toulouse, Aix, Bordeaux; the bishops of Puy, Langres, Blois, Nevers, Rhodes, Alais.

NOBILITY.

The marshals d'Aubeterre, Devaux, Mouchy, Broglie, Stainville, Mailly. Count Egmont. The dukes of Harcourt, Larochefoucault, Charost, Nivernois, Croy, Clermont-Tonnerre, Chatelet, Havre, Montmorency. Counts Périgord, and Montmorin, the prince of Robecq, count Thiars, the marquis

of Mirepoix, the count d'Estaing, the marquisses de la Fayette and Vintimille, counts Puységur and Durfort, the marquisses of Navailles and Barbançon, count de Grave; the marquisses of Vogué, Croy, and Vaudreuil.

Council.

The counsellors of state M. M. de Sauvigny, Fourqueux, Boutin, Lenoir, Vidault de Latour, Lambert, Bacquencourt, Lagalaozière. The *maitres des requêtes des intendans*, Bertier, Emengart, de Villedeuil, de Neville.

Magistrates of the Courts.

The presidents, and some others from the parliament of Paris, and the attorney-general.

The presidents, and the attorney-general of each of the twelve parliaments.

The presidents, and the attorney-general of the chamber of accompts at Paris.

The first president, and the attorney-general of the sovereign councils of Alsace and Rousillon, (in all thirty-six magistrates.)

Deputies of the Pays d'Etats,

Who have the honour, exclusively, of presenting memorials of grievances to the king.

The deputies of the states of Languedoc, Bretagne, Bourgogne, Artois, and Cambresis.

Tiers-Etat.

Represented by the municipal chiefs of each of the great cities throughout the kingdom, viz. Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rouen, Toulouse, Strasbourg, Lisle, Nantes, Metz, Nancy, Rheims, Bourges, Limoges, Orleans, Tours, Montpellier, Moulin, Montauban, Caen, Amiens, Bayonne, Chalous, Valenciennes, Clermont.

The Notables, in all, consist of 134 persons.

SECTION IV.

OF THE FORM IN HOLDING THE ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES.

"THE letters of convocation shall be sent a month prior to the day of opening the assembly: those of 1626 to serve as a model.

"The assembly shall be held at Versailles, it shall be opened by the king, who will announce the subject of the meeting with the dignity, which is natural to him.

"The keeper of the seals will then explain more at large his majesty's intentions.

"It would seem proper to enter into a concise exposition of the principles which form the basis of the plan proposed, and which constitute the assembly. As it is in the entire and strict union of its parts that its energy and utility chiefly con-

sist, it would be proper to present a general idea of the plan to the assembly; and to lay before its members the motives, derived from the actual situation of the finances, which render it necessary that some measure should be adopted to remedy abuses, and to restore order, without adding to the burdens of the people.

" It would be possible, without entering too minutely into an explication of what should be only glanced at at present, to say enough to shew, that the lapse of time, and the revolution of events, seem to have led on to the moment, in which the monarchy, long agitated, and after having acquired several accessions which have rendered the parts disproportionate, is at length arrived at that point of tranquil maturity which allows means to be adopted to perfect the constitution, by removing all those defects, which prejudice and disgrace it. This grand design, the developement of which will discover the advantages of the plan, relative to which your majesty wishes to consult the notables of the kingdom, ought, in some measure, to be the preliminary subject of their deliberation, and cannot fail favourably to impress their mind.

" As soon as the keeper of the seals shall have ended his discourse, he will go and receive the king's orders; and immediately announce that his majesty's intention is,

" That the assembly shall continue their sittings without interruption, and begin their deliberations every day as soon as the propositions meant for discussion shall have been brought to them.

" That as soon as the assembly shall have given their votes, and determined on the result of their examination respecting the first proposition, it shall be presented to his majesty, who will, on his part, send, in the same manner, by his commissioners, the propositions that are to follow, in order to undergo a similar examination, and so on in succession, till the whole be brought to a conclusion, after which his majesty will communicate his decision respecting them.

" The king will terminate the first sitting by saying, that he expects all the members of the assembly will be anxious to reward his confidence, by the most attentive examination of the vast objects committed to their consideration, and that they will give him on this important occasion signal proofs of their affection to his service, and of their zeal for the public good, which exclusively fills his majesty's mind.

" In the following sittings held by Monsieur, the commissioner, appointed by the king, shall bring and explain the first part of the propositions, which will be those relative to the new form of the territorial impost, the means necessary to rectify the assessment, and the accessory designs which

must tend to the encouragement of agriculture: this part will comprehend,

1st. The plan of the territorial supply.

2d. The establishing of provincial assemblies.

3d. Regulations on the commerce of grain.

4th. A court to consider of the plan, adopted by his majesty, to put an end to the *corvée*."

CHAP. IV.

Causes of the Commercial Treaty between England and France—Conduct of France towards England at the time that M. de Vergennes is informed that there is a Secret Deficit of a Hundred Millions.

THE count Vergennes, president of the council of finances, an office rather lucrative and honourable than administrative, was no sooner made acquainted with the existence of a secret deficit amounting, according to M. Calonne, to an hundred millions, than he anticipated the complaints, the displeasure, and the resentment of all France, when the fatal moment should arrive that it would be necessary to reveal the malady of the state, in hope of finding an adequate remedy. He foresaw at a distance the benefit that England would derive from our situation. France having surprized England in the distress arising from her colonial insurrection, had changed a rebel people into sovereign states. What might not England effect in the interior of France, at a time when every order of the state would rise against the annual deficit of an hundred millions of livres, dissipated by a court already degraded in the general esteem by

the affair of the diamond necklace. Mr. Necker, in his *compte rendu*, had assured the nation, five years before, that the receipts exceeded the expenditure by several millions; and M. de Calonne now found a deficit of an hundred millions. To what period could this deficit be attributed? Was it to the five preceding years? The court could not be thus accused, without dishonouring it. To the years anterior to that epoch? The great reputation Mr. Necker enjoyed could not be thus injured. What advantage then might not England derive from this embarrassing state of things?

It may be remembered, that France and England had entered into a mutual agreement at the peace of 1783, to negociate a treaty; M. de Calonne and M. de Vergennes concurred to render it favourable to the British nation; and by their political calculations the manufactures of France were sacrificed. During the term of twelve years which the treaty was to last, England, perfectly satisfied, was to enjoy an immense profit, and endeavour to re-establish her own finances. This treaty, which exasperated the public mind, was signed the 26th of September, 1786, und erthe administration of Mr. Pitt, who had triumphed over Mr. Fox recently gone out of office; and the resolution of convening the notables was adopted in the council of Versailles the 29th of December.

I will forbear to enter into the particulars of the reproaches of the nation on account of this treaty, as it no longer exists. I must however observe, that the English merchants, to give France the greatest taste for their commodities, their earthern ware for example, carried their speculations to such an height as to sell them on a very long credit, and under their real value. The English ware became in less than a month the fashion, at the most distinguished tables; and France was an eye witness to the failure of several of her own most interesting manufactures.

CHAP. V.

Conduct of England towards France, at the Period of the Discovery of the Deficit and the Convening of the Notables—Conduct of the Opposition and the Ministerial Party.

WHILE Lewis XVI. was convening the notables, the British parliament was discussing the treaty of peace; the English government in signing it appeared cordially to enter into friendship with France: Mr. Pitt supported the treaty with ardour: Mr. Fox opposed it: but let them speak for themselves.

"It is very natural," said Mr. Fox, "that the honourable member, Mr. Pitt, should make a great display of the amicable professions of the court of Versailles. Those professions have persuaded him, that France is well inclined towards this country. I will not say that France is the enemy of Great Britain in the present moment. It is possible that such events may secretly induce the court of Versailles to desire an union with us; but this possibility does not prevent my asserting, that France is politically the natural enemy of Great Britain, and that her overbearing pride, her boundless ambition, her ardent desire of ruling

in Europe, inspire her with this enmity towards us. These united motives do not allow her to entertain sentiments of friendship for the only country in Europe which is always counteracting her favourite plans. Mr. Pitt considers the amicable professions of the cabinet of Versailles as infallible proofs of its sincerity. Let him search into the office for foreign affairs, he will there find a curious sort of correspondence calculated to induce him to change his opinion. He will there see, that this court, on the eve of breaking with us, and joining America against us, redoubled its amicable demonstrations. Have we not yet learned, at our own cost, the value of these perfidious professions? France, in the present moment, sees on her throne a monarch renowned for his love of justice, for the anxious wish he feels to render his people happy, and to exalt his reign to the highest degree of glory. This should put us on our guard against the insidious assurances of friendship of which his ministers are so prodigal. Is he not the same monarch who sat on the French throne at the period of the last declaration of war? And wherefore should we believe, that the actual professions of his ministry are more sincere than those already cited? Is not France more powerful than ever? Mr. Pitt displays the advantages of the commercial treaty with the French. I am not surprised at the dazzling concessions of our insidious neighbours.

It is not our advantage they consulted in granting them; they satisfied their pride in the last peace; and notwithstanding the levity of this frivolous, light, and amiable people, the constancy of the cabinet of Versailles in its enmities during upwards of two hundred years, ought to give the alarm to Europe. Under Lewis XIV. France openly discovered her ambitious views: her violent measures then counteracted her own plans. At present she endeavours by treaties to gain, what force of arms could not procure her.

" I do not deny that the treaty holds out considerable advantages to many individuals in Great Britain; but is it to favour individuals that Mr. Pitt should form a league of this importance? If England, under Charles II., was closely united to France, if Cromwell formed connections with her in these circumstances, their private utility was equally the object of both.

" The protector and the monarch both wished to be on terms of amity with a power that was capable of giving a severe shock to their authority. They both preferred the preservation of their own glory to that of the British nation. Under the reign of William III. and queen Anne our cabinet adopted a more advantageous system of warfare. Let us closely trace the conduct of the court of France, we shall find it aiming at the same end. England, by forming too close an

union with her, must certainly injure her own interest. England, from her situation as a maritime power, is the bulwark of the liberties of Europe, and the support of those states, that France would unjustly assault. The British minister will only act with wisdom as long as he shall succeed in disconcerting the projects of France with respect to maritime affairs, and in procuring to England those continental allies, that will always unite with her in opposing the insidious intentions of France to attack us."

Mr. Fox, in expressing himself thus, spoke the language of the British government, and that government, by combating his objections and supporting the treaty, played the part of the opposition. With respect to the French and British governments, they mutually deceived each other. France, in offering to England a bond of amity for twelve years, and the profits arising from such an alliance; and England, by feigning a reciprocity of sincere intentions.

The English government, in order to preserve the good will of the interior parts, in opposition to France, published, in its semi-official papers, the following considerations:

" France proposes, by convening an assembly of her notable citizens, to improve her exchequer; the cabinet of Versailles, by forming all the different parts of the monarchy into one solid

and uniform body, by giving to its legislative power an unity of action, by symplifying, as it is inclined to do, the collection of her revenues, intends to augment the forces of the state. This project is evidently in opposition to the interests of Great Britain. We must therefore redouble our vigilance to counteract the efforts of our restless neighbour, and prevent those designs taking place, which may tend to render her formidable."

England, in fact, made such use of this treaty, as it was natural to suppose she would make, considering her national hatred.

Mr. Pitt mean while displayed an uncommon degree of eloquence in supporting the treaty he had recently entered into. "Because France," said he, "finds some advantages in this treaty, shall we, on that account, hesitate at obtaining advantages of a more important nature? Is it not glorious for England, after the shocks she has sustained, after so complicated a war, after having seen her very existence tottering on the brink of ruin, to observe that France opens her arms to us, and offers to form a bond with us as advantageous to us as it is liberal? Do we not enter, on this occasion, into an agreement, which raises eight millions of men to a level with twenty-four millions, which compose the population of France? We have agreed by this treaty to receive from France those objects of luxury, which are the

produce of her soil: the refinement of our habits have rendered them necessary objects of consumption. Notwithstanding all the taxes to which French wines were subject, were those wines ever wanting at our tables, and will the English be very much displeased at having them at a less expence, and be no longer exposed to the probability of drinking French wines, made in England? The importation of the wines and brandies of France must, besides, supply the deficiency in the taxes.

" In regard to the treaty in a political view, it is advancing a very false and dangerous maxim, to pretend that France and England should always remain enemies, because they have hitherto been so. My spirit revolts against so monstrous a principle, which is an outrage against all social constitutions, and injurious to both nations. It is traducing humanity; it is supposing the heart of man to be the seat of the most infernal malice. It is pretended, that, in treating with France, we throw ourselves into the arms of our foes, and that we lay ourselves at their mercy; as if by this treaty we annihilated our means of defence, destroyed our navy, disbanded our armies, lessened our naval commerce, disorganized our colonies, and suspended all the functions of government. Is it not evident, that this treaty, by opening to us new sources of wealth, will also furnish us

with means to resist, and combat with the French, if necessary? The treaty, besides, by multiplying our amicable connections, and by affording us reciprocal advantages, will diminish the causes for discontent between the two states. This treaty will unite the two nations, will give them the same taste, the same manners, and contribute to their respective harmony.

" The perfidy of France has been a constant theme for declamation; her invariable and boundless ambition, the part she took in the American war, has been often recapitulated. I do not pretend to deny that France, taking advantage of our distresses, endeavoured to crush us; but in combating to preserve the existence of that nation, we have preserved our possessions in the *Eaſt Indies* intire, where lie our principal resources. By dismembering the British empire, France has scarcely affected our real force: while *by ruining herself*, and thereby putting it entirely out of her power to hurt us, joined to our vigour in repulsing her attacks, France has felt the necessity of an amicable union with us.

" Another objection brought against this treaty is, the advantages that France will derive from it; as if it were not the height of absurdity to imagine, that France would consent to ratify a treaty by which she should not be benefited; I always thought that this treaty would be more advan-

tageous to France than to Great Britain. France derives from it the superior advantages of her soil, of her climate, of her population; which never can be brought into parallel with those of England. *Situated as we are,* opposite to France, it is time, it is proper, it is important for the good of the two countries, to terminate that implacable, that steady enmity, which is *falsely* said to be the basis of the real sentiments of both nations. If England be not benefited by the treaty, at least, she will not be injured. This treaty affords greater means for carrying on war, if necessary, and of retarding its approach."

England mean while sent back into France the revolutionary Genevese, exiled thence by Lewis XVI. D'Ivernois laid considerable bets that Mr. Necker would very shortly return to the administration; and cabal with the first of the French revolutionists. The American royalists, the Stadtholder's party in Holland, became the instruments of Mr. Pitt, who still holding the language natural to the opposition, executed the system planned by Mr. Fox, and deprived France of the alliance which M. de Vergennes had negociated with the Dutch.

In the course of the parliamentary debates, Mr. Burke, famous for his enmity both to revolutionary and ancient France, told Mr. Pitt, that to affirm was not sufficient, it was

necessary to prove that the intentions of France were such as he asserted. " France opens her arms to us," continued he, " but it is to seize on our commerce. At Cherbourg also France opens her arms, but it is to fix her navy there in presence of our very ports; it is to establish herself there, in despite of nature; it is to contend with the ocean, and war against Providence itself, who had assigned a boundary to her empire. The pyramids of Egypt sink into nothing when compared with so vast a design. The preparations of Cherbourg are of such a momentous nature, that very shortly France will be able to stretch her arms even to Portsmouth or Plymouth. It is, no doubt, in that situation that France, become the guardian of the channel, will afford us her protection; and we, poor senseless Trojans! we gaze in admiration on this second wooden horse, which conceals the means of our destruction. We never consider its hidden force, and quite forget those glorious days, when Great Britain fixed her inspectors at Dunkirk to render an account of the conduct of the French."

In the house of lords also, France found enemies as well as in the commons. Lord Buckingham observed, that, without quitting the forms of civility, which were due from one nation to another, he dared to assert, that England had no reason to confide in the cabinet of Versailles.

" Without recurring to the past," said he, " observe the actual conduct of France. What is the end she aims at? Why does she reduce her army, if it be not to augment her navy. Why, since the conclusion of the last war, has she built fifteen ships of the line? Is it not for the express purpose of becoming the rival of our commerce? Should not this ambitious eagerness to have a naval force, equal to ours, inspire us with a deep mistrust respecting her secret views? Do not these formidable preparations, these enormous expences, indicate hostile intentions? Are these hostilities not directed against England? The French ministry assure us that the contrary is the case; but can we depend on their word, when these same ministers, in treating with us, are obliged to consider the assertion of a minister as differing from that of a private person. As an individual, M. de Vergennes was an honest man; but as a minister, he proved a very different character. One day that I was treating with him, in order to obtain my confidence, he thus expressed himself:—*I vow I am not speaking to you as a statesman, but as a private gentleman; you may rely upon my word of honour.*"

" Commercial treaties between rival nations," said the earl of Sandwich, " have always engendered dissentions, and nothing else. Our eternal disputes with Spain are derived from our commercial

treaties with her. Two powerful nations, so near each other, are necessarily rivals, and it is to rivalship that they owe their splendor. I am well acquainted with France. It is a learned, an agreeable, a polished nation; but it is a false and an artful one. Her system is to rear her grandeur on the ruins of Great Britain, who, having no uniform nor settled system, must one day become her victim. What are we to think of the works at Cherbourg? We should view them, no doubt, with a jealous eye, and fortify our coasts accordingly."

The marquis of Lansdown observed, that France was naturally a foe to the liberties of Europe, and the only power who maintained an army of three hundred thousand men in times of peace. "I am proud to declare," continued he, "that I am not the slave of any faction; I am free to discuss every subject brought before parliament. I observe to ministers, in the first place, that they have not acquired, by this treaty, any reciprocity of advantage, as a balance in favour of England, considered as a maritime power, for those advantages, which France derives from her soil. Secondly, I observe, that ministers have shamefully acknowledged, in this treaty, the armed neutrality, the scourge of the British nation. Thirdly, that they have taken no precaution to put a stop to the alarming preparations

at Cherbourg. Fourthly, that the treaty leaves Ireland more united in commercial intercourse with France than with England. Fifthly, that ministers have neglected to verify the commercial regulations of France in India. I do not know what ought to have been obtained from France in this respect, but I do know in what language Great Britain should have spoken on the occasion. Can it be imagined that M. de Vergennes would have been in such a hurry to conclude this treaty, had he not been stimulated by a powerful and secret cause? Can ministers be ignorant with what firmness M. de Vergennes refused to enter into any commercial treaty, while peace was negociating? Had he not also refused the same to Holland, and ought not both these refusals to have proved salutary lessons to our ministers?"

The ministerial party obtained that this treaty should pass into a law of the British nation; and Mr. Pitt manifested the most active zeal to have it adopted and enforced.

CHAP. VI.

Death of the Count Vergennes—The Opening of the Assembly of Notables—Manifestation of an immense Deficit.

DURING these debates M. de Vergennes died, a prey to grief and apprehension. At this period, the emperor joined his arms to those of Catharine for the purpose of invading the Ottoman empire. The new sovereign of Prussia counteracted our connection with the Dutch patriots. The agitation of the different parties in England, on account of the commercial treaty, evidently proved to M. de Vergennes, that the friendship of Great Britain was only a semblance, a feint; and what confidence in effect, could he himself repose in the professions of the son and pupil of Chatham. He knew that the treaty would awake the indignation of the commercial society in France, as well as the manufacturers and the merchants. The proof of a deficit, amounting to an hundred millions, after the balance of the *compte rendu;* published officially; Mr. Necker's agitation, if the truth of his statements were at all called in question; his supposed intrigues to return into the administration, from which he had only withdrawn for a time; the de-

sign of causing a political reformation in France, of which M. de Vergennes suspected him; the divisions that existed in the ministry, where the marshal de Castres, the friend of Mr. Necker, engaged, on every occasion, in the defence of his ancient patron; the future results of the queen's reputation, which he had contributed to asperse; the reports which that princess had caused to be spread abroad relative to his having amassed millions at the expence of the state; that memorial, so terrible, so patriotic, in many respects so well founded, and read in his presence, against his own administration, by marshal de Castres; the incalculable consequence of a deficit so strange, so unexpected, so difficult to fill up; the opposition that the clergy and nobility would probably raise against the plan of liquidating the national debt by means of an universal impost: the combination of all these circumstances joined to his apprehensions, hastened M. de Vergennes' death. A short time prior to that event, he pointed out to Lewis XVI. the danger of his situation.

The monarch was personally attached to M. de Vergennes, and had the greatest reliance on him. Abandoned by the notables, who left him surrounded by dangers, originating in the deficit; forsaken by his ministers, who had resigned their situations at the period of the archbishop of Sens'

elevation; tormented by this prelate, whom he detested, and inwardly despised; deeply affected at M. de Vergennes' death, Lewis XVI. repaired to the burial-ground where this statesman had, by his own desire, been modestly interred. There, the tear trembling in his eye, and giving vent to his grief, he was heard to utter these words by a courtier who accompanied him: "Happy should I be, could I repose in peace beside you!"

France, in fact, at that period, was delivered up to the patriotic ardour of an assembly, which already began to rend her bosom. Calonne required that the notables should bring the receipts on a level with the expenditure, by liquidating the passed, and balancing the arrears, in order to be able, as he said, to recover from the confusion of such embarrassed accompts. He assured them, that when the administration had been committed to his guidance, in 1783, the coffers of the state were empty; he had found two hundred and twenty millions to defray the expenses of the war, eighty millions of exigible debts, and one hundred and seventy-six millions expended in advance of the following years: "Now," added M. de Calonne; "public credit is restored, money flows in abundance, the arrears are paid off, the liquidation of the national debt is going on, public confidence has been uniformly great..... and by this

epitome of the measures, effected within the three last years, you may judge, gentlemen, whether these expenses have been properly attended to, and whether a becoming regularity has been observed in the administration of the finances!

"My only resource, when the king entrusted the finances to my care, rested on public credit. All my efforts must have tended to improve it. There was no money, because there was none in circulation; it was necessary to obtain some from abroad, in order to draw out that which dread and apprehension kept concealed at home, and to assume at least the semblance of wealth, for the purpose of concealing the extent of national poverty. The king, to whom I gave an exact account of all, has judged and appreciated my motives. For this year past, I have neglected no opportunity of acquiring a more accurate knowledge, respecting the state of the finances, than has yet been undertaken. The result has been neither doubtful, nor satisfactory; I am forced to confess, that the annual deficit is very considerable. I have pointed out to the king its origin, its progress, and its causes. Its origin is very ancient, deficiencies have existed in France for centuries. This is not the general opinion; but it is the true one. The deficit amounted to upwards of forty-two millions under the abbé Terray; it was at twenty-four at his going out of office. In 1776, the deficit was estimated

at thirty-seven millions. Between that period (the beginning of Mr. Necker's administration) and the month of May, 1781, (in which it ended) four hundred and forty millions were borrowed. It is evident, that the produce of the reform and improvements has not been able to defray the interest of these loans, which must be at the rate of nine or ten per cent, and which amounts to upwards of forty millions annually, consequently, the deficit must have increased (under the administration of Mr. Necker,) as it has been proved by the effective accounts.

This increase of deficit therefore took place between the month of May, 1781, and the month of November 1783: the loans, during this period, amounted to four hundred and fifty millions, and I have proved, that, towards the end of 1783, the deficit was at six hundred and eighty-four millions in the details of 1784. The annual deficit became greater, and the causes of it are too well known, for the effects to remain concealed. Those causes may be explained by one single observation. The deficit stood at twenty-seven millions at the end of 1776; from that year, to the end of 1786, one thousand two hundred and fifty millions were borrowed.

M. Calonne then proposed to the notables the territorial impost or land-tax; payable, without distinction, by every proprietor of the privileged

lands of the clergy and nobility, as well as by the lower orders. But this proposition, which had excited the wrath of the clergy and nobility against M. le Duc, who was prime minister, before the cardinal Fleury, and which had roused the same classes, since that time, against every minister, who had the boldness to renew it, particularly against M. Turgot, could not fail to prove equally fatal to M. Calonne. The notables, feeling indignant at so immense a deficit, could not restrain their resentment. They opposed all the minister's measures.

M. de Calonne appealed to the people, by publishing them. He had formed a general system of administration on the provincial assemblies relative to the territorial impost, the stamp tax, &c. The notables opposed this measure, by refusing to sanction it, and called aloud for a convocation of the states general. This motion, the boldest that had been conceived, was made by young La Fayette, who supported it in his office, and obliged the president, the count d'Artois, to verify it. The notables again required that documents expressive of the receipt and expenditure should be laid before them, in order to enable them to ascertain the deficit: and the most certain proof that the court had recently contributed to augment it was, that, instead of communicating authentic statements of the expenditure, and such

as, according to M. de Calonne's system, would have thrown back the deficit to a period antecedent to the king's reign, the solicited communication was refused, and the resolution taken to dissolve so refractory an assembly, whose demand had an evident tendency to dishonouring the government.

M. de Calonne, in demanding an universal territorial impost, certainly proposed a just measure. The nobility, by virtue of their distinction of rank in the state, payed no taxes: notwithstanding which they enjoyed the most lucrative employments, they were rewarded by the most considerable pensions, and the most expensive favours. If the day on which the notables dared to refuse the tax, and still hold the people in the humiliating and unjust predicament of exclusively paying it, the king had declared that the pensions should not be paid until the *noblesse* had contributed their quota of the impost, or if he had merely threatened them with such a measure, he would have freed the state from a defect, which, in part, was occasioned by the lavish increase of pensions, and other expensive donations.

CHAP. VII.

Mr. Necker's Conduct on the Publication of the Deficit—The Court is interested in throwing its Causes back on former Periods of the State —Mr. Necker opposes this Opinion—A Pamphlet of his appears without a Title-page—The great Uneasiness of the Court—In what Manner it terminates the Disputes between Mr. Necker and M. de Calonne—The latter is dismissed, and the former banished to the Distance of twenty Leagues from Versailles—The Compte Rendu and the little Book without a Title become the Guides of the Notables —Lomenie, Archbishop of Toulouse, appointed President of the Council of Finances—Dissolution of the Notables.

WHEN Mr. Necker was informed that M. de Calonne had dared to attack his *Compte Rendu* of 1781, in the assembly of the notables, he lost no time in showing the public his resentment against M. de Calonne. His self-love was wounded by an official and open insult, which intirely overthrew both the political edifice of his administration, and his veracity as a minister.

On the other hand, the king's interests must in fact be injured by Mr. Necker, who, in order to support a statement, which was thought doubtful by many persons at court, permitted himself so to state the causes of the deficit, that France might ascribe them to the government since the

year 1781. The court wishing to elude the national resentment, and the expressions of just discontent on the part of the assembly of notables, persisted in referring its origin to antecedent causes, and the excesses in the expenditure several ages back. Thus did the court save the queen's reputation, from whose person the nation had withdrawn all that respect and consideration she had enjoyed at the beginning of her reign. At this critical moment for the court, the proud, impetuous Genevese ex-minister, dared to stand forth and explain himself. Preferring the noisy plaudits of the people, and the idea of being considered as a man of veracity, to the duty and generosity of silent forbearance, he hastened to fix in the mind of the nation and of the notables the real sources of the deficit. He placed the date out of his own administration, and posterior to it. Unfortunately, he had seen his likeness in one of the two portraits which M. de Calonne had introduced very artfully and mischievously into his speech at the opening of the assembly of notables. M. de Calonne affected to say, that Mr. Necker, whom he did not name, had the art of attracting attention by a sternness of deportment; by giving harsh refusals in a repulsive style; by applying austere principles to trifles, in order to keep back a crowd of suppliants, thereby enjoying the double advantage of repelling the

importunate demands of avarice, and of solacing the uneasiness of ignorance; whilst M. de Calonne's economy was rather the result of duty than of disposition, preserving the finances from the most fatal abuses, the most ruinous depredations, and seeming to calumniate itself by an exterior of apparent facility, which the wish of injuring him had turned into prodigality.

Thus did M. de Calonne speak of his own administration, and that of M. Necker. The latter jealous, even of preserving the blossom of his fame, though at the expence of the small consideration which the court of Versailles still enjoyed, replied to M. de Calonne's address in a pamphlet without a title, containing 108 pages, which rouzed the indignation of the king's council, the queen's committee, and inflamed the notables, who found in this work all the means they could desire to insult the distress of the court, and deprive it of every means of filling up the deficit.

"I served the king during five years," says Mr. Necker, "with the most unbounded zeal: the duties I had assumed became the sole objects of my anxious care. The *interest of the state* was my only passion, and engrossed all the best faculties of my mind, all the energy of my thoughts. Obliged to withdraw from office through a singular concurrence of circumstances, I applied

the sum of my abilities to the composing of a laborious work, the utility of which, I trust, has been acknowledged. I heard it reported, that a portion of those ideas relative to the administration, which I had so long cherished, formed the basis of the projects intended to be laid before the assembly of the notables. I paid homage due to his majesty's beneficent views. Satisfied with the tribute I had offered to the common interest, I lived in content and in peace, giving myself up, as will appear, to meditation and study, when, on a sudden, I found myself attacked, or rather assaulted, in the most unwarrantable and the most singular manner. M. de Calonne, having thought proper to carry to a vast distance back the primary causes of the present state of the finances, did not hesitate, in order to accomplish his favourite end, to resort to means, of which, perhaps, sooner or later, he may have cause to repent. He has set forth, in an address now circulated through all Europe, that the account rendered in 1781 to his majesty, was so extremely erroneous, that, instead of the overplus specified therein, there was at that very period an immense deficiency."

The court of Versailles was informed of the opinions and intentions Mr. Necker had advanced in his work, previous to its being given to the public. The pamphlet alluded to, which is a

concise estimate of the recent extravagance and waste of the court, states, that the expenditure and receipts were exactly and scrupulously balanced when Mr. Necker resigned in 1781. He then declares, that the revenues of the state had since increased to the immense amount of ninety-two millions; he states that, since the year 1776, the sum of one thousand and forty-six millions of livres was borrowed, of which seven hundred millions were during M. de Calonne's administration. The result of this statement evinced, that the court was guilty of the most extravagant prodigality, and that Mr. Necker and M. de Calonne were going to reveal its turpitude by a most scandalous controversy; the former, by breaking a silence, till then most religiously observed by every minister, after his retiring from office, for the purpose of justifying his administration; and the latter, by persisting in maintaining the system agreed upon with the monarch, in order to envelop the causes of the deficit in a thick cloud.

Mr. Necker had already solicited the king's permission to stand forth in the assembly of the notables, for the purpose of convicting M. de Calonne. The monarch permitted him to defend his cause; but insisted it should be done only in the presence, and through the means of the marshal de Castres, his friend. As the modesty

of this proceeding did not satisfy the ex-minister of the finances, the court, feeling justly alarmed at the danger of a contest of this nature, determined to quash the whole.

The notables, on the other hand, urged many fictitious causes for discontent, the better to conceal the real ones that affected them. To fill up the deficit by the means of a new tax, which would fall both on the nobility and clergy, was their first grievance; while the embarrasment of the court, fallen into disrepute by such an enormous deficit, only proved a secondary motive with the majority of the assembly. The malcontents, ambitious to play a conspicuous part, inwardly prided themselves on the consequence they should derive from the unfeigned perplexity of the court. This evil disposition of one part of the notables, their private interests, and their secret views, occasioned the universal discontent that burst forth against M. de Calonne: he was considered as the author of the ruinous system, and as the queen's cashier. The court was so dreadfully alarmed, that, at first, it was resolved at all events to silence Mr. Necker, by recalling him to the direction of the finances, and to quiet the public mind, by sending the queen into the emperor's dominions, and the Vaudreuils, the Coignys, and the Polignacs to England. But the old court party, so inimical to Mr. Necker's inno-

vations, found means to dissuade the king from his purpose, and prevented the dissolution of the queen's committee. Of these circumstances we may form an idea from the memorial written in opposition to M. Necker's pamphlet without a title-page.

"Your majesty," said the memorial, "may now be convinced of Mr. Necker's intentions: he has clearly demonstrated his views. You may now see, in its native light, the attachment of this foreigner; and judge whether he has not sworn the ruin of the kingdom. It is not without reason that Necker has resolved to shew the notables of the kingdom the real date of the national debt, and to teach the people to consider that such debt and the deficit are one and the same; it is not without reason that your majesty found it expedient to remove beyond the machinations of the envious, certain personages, who are so closely united to you, and to order different measures to be adopted, in order to lay the storm which the malcontents might probably excite, when the last resources for saving the nation from a dreadful state of bankruptcy should become the object of discussion. Mr. Necker has undertaken to annul the wisdom of these measures, and to sacrifice to his own fame, which is as equivocal as it is romantic, that of the French monarch and of his royal consort. He accused, in presence of the

notables, the best of masters, and places the deficit to his account. It is in vain that popular principles are invoked in order to restore the finances, and to identify the plans, now in agitation, with most of Mr. Necker's favourite ideas; he despises such plans as do not come from himself, as he despised and attacked those of M. Turgot by pamphlets of a similar tendency: he means to oppose to us the same intentions which he manifested in 1775: he perceives that the government is about to heal the wounds of the state, and it is on such an occasion that our measures, disconcerting his plans, animate and urge him on to publish works, which are sure to be captious and unbridled, and with which he expects to overturn the government in 1787, under pretence of defending his writings in 1781. There exist two alternatives: the debt and the deficit must either be identified, and the causes of it removed to a period considerably antecedent, in order to save the honour of the state, and of its august chiefs; or else, the merits on which Mr. Necker founds the causes of his pamphlets, must be acknowledged, his system supported, and his vanity gratified, by agreeing with him that all he said in 1781 was true. In this scandalous contest, so dangerous to the royal authority, either the honour of the court, or Mr. Necker's honour, must yield. Mr. Necker's earnestness

in commencing and maintaining such a controversy, is the record of his individual attachment to their majesties' persons; the convincing proof, that if he be not the concealed enemy of the nation, he is resolved to sacrifice the reputation of the most august characters in it, rather than surrender the smallest particle of his self-love."

Thus we see that the court faction was not idle, they wrote memorials but did not publish them; they contented themselves with shewing them to his majesty and the queen. But Mr. Necker, uniform in his conduct, published his without waiting for the permission of the monarch, whose interests he always sacrificed to what he, Mr. Necker, always called the *public opinion*. In order to extricate the court from the danger attending a dispute between the minister of the day and Mr. Necker, M. de Calonne was dismissed on Sunday the 7th of April, 1787, by a letter from the king, which was delivered to him by M. de Montmorin. M. La Fayette's impeachment had intirely shaken his credit. On the Friday following, the 13th of the month, the lieutenant of the police, M. de Crosne, delivered an order from the king to M. Necker, which banished him to a distance of twenty leagues from Paris, but left him the choice of his residence. Mr. Necker took his departure the next day but one, wrote from Marolles, ten leagues

from the capital, that on account of madame Necker's indisposition he could proceed no further, and the king gave him leave to remain with her till further orders. In fine, he went to Chateau-Renard, near Montargis, and thus the court found a momentary respite from the storm which threatened it. But the first wound had been inflicted: Mr. Necker had stated both the time and source of the dilapidations. Foreign powers, the clergy, the parliaments, the *pays d'etats*, the duke of Orleans, were preparing to follow up the insult systematically.

The first storm being abated, and the arguments relative to it suppressed, the monarch appointed the archbishop of Toulouse his minister on the 1st of May, giving him the title of chief of the royal council of finances. While a member of the assembly of notables, he had resisted the system of M. Calonne, whom he wished to supplant; and as soon as he became minister, he did not delay his operations to complete his ruin, and put his plans in execution. He became so urgent to dissolve the assembly, that Mr. Necker's *Compte Rendu*, and his pamphlet without a title, directed against M. Calonne, were, without further examination, considered as unerring documents.

The notables had been convened for the purpose of filling up the deficit, and they paid more

attention to the verification of the amount of the deficiency, than they did to the measures which were to be resorted to in order to remedy the national evil. The court proposed a reduction of forty millions; and the notables persisted in demanding a convocation of the states-general.

CHAP. VIII.

Description of the Court after the Deficit was proved—The King's behaviour on that Occasion—Behaviour of the Queen, of Monsieur, of the Count d'Artois, and the Duke of Orleans—The Conduct of the Nobles—All Parties prejudiced against the Queen, and the Favourites.

FROM the moment the deficit became officially known, the king never ceased to bewail his unhappy fate. The day on which two of the notables brought him an account of its enormous extent being established beyond controversy, he took up a chair, dashed it to pieces, and exclaimed in a rage: "How wretched is my destiny! I am surrounded only by villains—that wretch, Calonne, deserves that I should order him to be hanged." "With all my heart," replied M. de Calonne, "provided my august accomplices share the same fate." He was then in Alsace, whither he had been pursued by the execration of all France.

The queen, notwithstanding these events, never ceased indulging in her propensity to irony. The discussion, relative to the dilapidations of the court, having been referred from the notables to

the parliament; she was daily heard to say when any entertainment was proposed, "I have not the least objection to defray the expence of it; but it must be on the preliminary condition of your asking M. d'Epréménil's permission to that effect." The king's aunts, who had retired to Belle Vue, were in the greatest consternation; madame Louisa, in her carmelite convent, forseeing the fall both of church and state, was dying of a broken heart. The count d'Artois, solely engrossed by his pleasures, only thought, by his actions and his speeches, of maintaining that despotism, which insured to him the undisturbed enjoyment of his favourite pursuits, though he had supported the friends of liberty in 1774, when the parliament were called back from banishment. Monsieur, on the contrary, after having been at the head of the despotic faction, that wished to annihilate them all, and after having employed every means in his power to maintain arbitrary power in 1774, began in 1787 to display opinions and a disposition of a very different nature. Previous to the existence of any idea of a deficiency in the public purse, and also previous to M. de Calonne's making the king acquainted with the event, monsieur ridiculed the government through the medium of caricatures. My collection contains four editions of one, which was entitled: The Harpy of

the Lake of Fagua, in the Kingdom of Santa-Fe, in Peru, South America.

This monster, according to the explanation given of it, was taken by a number of men, who had laid a snare for that purpose. Being caught alive, and brought to the viceroy, they succeeded in feeding it, by giving it each day a bullock, a cow, an ox, and four hogs, of which the animal was particularly fond.

From that moment, monsieur, as if he had foreseen the coming storm, became daily more popular, by standing forth the friend of the prevailing opinion among the multitude. The queen, wishing to feel the public pulse, went to the opera. "*There goes madame deficit,*" said the populace of Paris. Monsieur appeared at the *palais* in order to have the king's orders registered: but his sentiments were so well known, that the fishwomen threw their arms round his neck, and insisted on embracing him as long as they liked.

The duke of Orleans, the clubs of the *Palais Royal,* and the first agents of the revolution, namely, those enemies to the former order of things, and who planned the constitution of 1789, were more explicit; they only wished to throw on Maria Antoinetta, exclusively, the odium of the misfortunes of the state; nor did the queen, on her part, from 1789, ever give them any other name, than that of *the madmen of the Palais-*

Royal. The baron Breteuil ordered the Club to be shut up. The members changed their place of meeting, and became less numerous; but then their discourses were stamped with a higher degree of virulence: all France, all Europe were in a short time convinced of the authenticity of the following letter. The members of the club in the Palais Royal, by whom it was published, supposed it to have been written by the Emperor Joseph II., to baron Breteuil.

"You must do me," my dear baron, "a little piece of service. It is absolutely necessary that you furnish me with fifty millions, of which I am in want, in order to execute my project against the Turks. I am very well acquainted with your late good and worthy friend, *Calonne*, and with the queen, his very excellent and truly respectable protector. It will be very easy for you to add this sum to the existing deficit of the king's finances; and to find out new ways and means to supply the vacuum it will cause. You will get it registered in a bed of justice, and have it executed by *letters de cachet*, by banishing those who oppose it, by calling in the grenadiers, the Swiss guards, the dragoons, the troopers, the French guards, the life guards, all of them well armed; and if at last you cannot absolutely enforce the payment of the sum, you will declare the nation to be in a state of bank-

ruptey. The queen will rejoice at it, monsieur will grieve for it, the count d'Artois will laugh at the idea, the French will suffer for it, Europe resound with the news, but it will cause the good king to weep; notwithstanding which, he will do whatever you think proper, my dear baron.

"For my part, it is quite an indifferent matter to me, provided I have the money of the French.

"JOSEPH."

The opinion, that the queen had resolved on the ruin of France, in favour of the house of Austria, very soon prevailed throughout the kingdom; it was every where reported, that Maria Theresa had in her resentment, given this queen to France, for the purpose of being revenged of the country; and in that point of view, the queen was in fact the scourge of the land. Mr. Necker enjoyed the reputation of being an honest man, and as he asserted that the deficit had taken place since the period of his going out of office, the queen and her upstart favourites were considered (the general conduct of all parties being canvassed) as being, alone, the cause of the ruin of France. The king's economy was truly rigid. Monsieur loved jewels, diamonds and land; but his influence was inconsiderable. The aunts only expended a stated and known sum. The count

d'Artois indeed was reported to require considerable sums for his pleasures, and to demand them very imperiously of M. de Calonne; but all these expenses offered but very slight and secondary causes for the annual deficit of an hundred and fifty millions. The queen alone, it was said, could have the means of thus emptying the treasury. A sentiment almost unanimous determined the nation to deprive her of the possibility of accomplishing the destruction of the kingdom: it is in this sense that we must consider her as one of the immediate causes of the revolution, which was directed against her favourites and her presumptive dilapidations, which were too plausible. The public were likewise incessantly drawing a parallel between her, and the virtuous Maria Leczinska, consort of the late monarch, to render her the more odious by a comparison which was far from being advantageous to her. It was added, that she had converted the court into a place of licentiousness. Unfortunately, she took no measures to remove so disgraceful an impression from the public mind, and accordingly each day augmented the extravagant bitterness of its resentment. Unfortunately too for Maria Antoinetta, she intrusted the fate of France to a prelate, as presumptuous, as he was incapable of rescuing it from the state of convulsion into which it was thrown by the king's indecision of character; the intrigues and

writings of M. Necker, who aimed at all events at governing and reforming France; the dangerous tenets of the philosophers; the discontent of the nobles of the court against the queen and the favourites; the egotism of the notables, the clergy, and the parliament; the universal immorality of the existing generation; the want of foresight, and the inability of administration, the members of which were injudiciously selected by a court possessing as few talents as virtues; the romantic supposition of a public opinion, and the homage paid to it by the terrified government. All these causes, which were united in 1788, contributed to the overthrow of monarchical government in France, which the other powers of Europe have been able to preserve entire, and with so much distinction.

CHAP. IX.

Continuation of the Debates against the Court, occasioned by the Deficit—An account of the Disputes of the Court and the Parliaments—The Court demands a Stamp Duty—The Parliaments call for the Statement of the Receipts and the Expenditure, as well as the Convocation of the States General—The King demands a general Land tax, calculated so as away all exclusive Privileges—The Parliaments are reinforced by the Accession of the Peers of the Realm, and join in soliciting the Convocation of the States—Parliament banished to Troyes—The Archbishop of Toulouse brings about a feigned Accommodation—The Return of the Parliament—The Court withdraws its Edicts—Proposes a progressive Loan of four hundred Millions—Royal Session—Exile of the Duke of Orleans, prime Agent of all the Disorders, of the Abbé Sabbatier, of M. d'Epréménil, and M. de Freteau—The Court paves the way for the Abolition of the Parliaments and for the Restoration of a Plenary Court—The Palace besieged—Flight of the two Ministers—Rejoicings of the Mob—Murders in the streets of Mesleé and St. Dominique.

THE notables being dismissed, the Archbishop of Toulouse sent the edict relative to the stamp-duty to the parliaments. They replied, that, previous to their deliberating on the tax, it became requisite to examine the necessity of the proposed measures, and called for the statement of the receipt and expenditure of the revenue, for the purpose of verifying them. The king sent them word, that the knowledge of such matters did not

belong to them. They then, as the notables had done before, desired the edict to be withdrawn, and petitioned for the calling of the states-general together. The monarch replied by sending them an edict for establishing the territorial impost, which subjected every order in the state to the tax. The parliament determined to add to their numbers by calling in the peers of the realm, the most interested in this contest, and they were convened accordingly. The peers, jointly with the parliament demanded the states-general, which they declared exclusively authorized to grant the king supplies, the necessity of which should be clearly demonstrated. The king, in a bed of justice, declared that, being sole administrator of his kingdom, he was obliged to transmit his authority to his descendants unimpaired, and such as he himself had received it; and the parliament, which had by anticipation protested against every act issued from the bed of justice, replied by calling this bed of justice a *phantom of deliberation.* In order to affect the court in the most sensible manner, they impeached M. de Calonne; which was in fact impeaching the court, of which he had been the minister. On the 15th of August the parliament was banished to Troyes, for the same reasons that Mr. Necker had been sent into exile to Marolles. The members there received the homage of the tribu-

nals of their jurisdiction, who called these magistrates their *tutelary gods*, and they were loaded with the blessings of all France.

All the parliaments of the kingdom entered a protest against the banishment of the parliament of Paris, and they all, like the members of the parliament of the capital, joined in demanding that Calonne should be brought to trial, and that the convocation of the states general should take place.

M. de Loménie now found that the time for negotiating was arrived: a violent ferment agitated the capital. He addressed himself immediately to the first president, with whom he held a secret correspondence, and wrote him the following letter, which is extracted from the manuscripts of Lewis XVI.

"You do not disapprove my plan; you advise me to develope it, and to avail myself of the existing circumstances.

"The reply to the court of aids announces, that the stamp duty may be withdrawn; it may be reduced to the objects only that do not stand in need of being registered, and it may be suspended with respect to all others.

"With regard to the supply, we may substitute for it the receipt of two twentieths, and of four *sous* in the *livre* without compounding, indiscriminately; and agreeable to the real income of property in general. I always told

you the supply was only the twentieths compounded for. These twentieths, thus received, would only be laid for five years; during these five years the improvements might take effect, and every department of the finances be properly regulated. I name the period of five years, because that is the term of the leases and the contracts.

"I say nothing of loans, unless there should be a war. Such would scarcely be wanted, were it not for the payments to be made at stipulated periods, which must be considered as the consequence of registering: if any addition were necessary, it would be one of a very trifling importance. The parliament cannot possibly refuse their assent to such measures. It is not intended to be a perpetual tax, nay it it a tax which already exists, and which is only to be collected more strictly.

"If these ideas accord with yours, you may send me your answer by a lady, who is coming back from Troyes, and who will hand it to me; I shall then lay them before the king, hoping that he will sanction the whole with his approbation.

"You observe that I do not mention the states-general. The king neither ought nor will permit them to assemble, and people of judgment all unite in declaring, that were they even to be convened, the present would not be the moment for doing so, and that the mode of demanding the

convocation was not calculated to produce the intended effect.

"I need say no more to you about the matter: the grand object is a tax for a certain term, substituted for a permanent one: an ancient in the stead of a new tax. The mode of raising it will appear afterwards with its detail."

The government then withdrew the two edicts, and the parliament registered the second twentieth, laid, until the year 1792, on all the lands throughout the kingdom, even on the demesnes of the princes: thus did a mock reconciliation dissipate the first storm.

But very shortly after, however, the prelate applied to the parliament for a loan of one hundred and twenty millions for the service of the year 1788; another of ninety millions for the year 1789; a third of eighty millions for 1790; a fourth of seventy millions for 1791, and a fifth of seventy millions for 1792. The calling for four hundred and thirty millions, at a time, when the former loans were considered as a national calamity, appeared to the nation both unreasonable and enormous: they expected to get the deed registered by the means of clandestine negociations. When the courts however, assembled, they refused to comply. The king, the passive instrument of Lomenie, went, however, to the parliament, in order to hold there, not a bed of justice, but a

royal session. The monarch granted a civil existence to the protestants, whom it was necessary to conciliate in those turbulent times, for they were reported to stand on amicable terms with England. With respect to the states-general, the convocation of which the parliament continued to demand, the king thus answered: "I alone," said he, "am competent to judge of the necessity of such assemblies: and I will never suffer myself to be importuned for what should be expected from my wisdom." The keeper of the seals, however, intimated that as soon as the debts of the state should be liquidated, his majesty would willingly communicate to the nation the measures he should adopt for the purpose of rendering this situation permanent. The nation would there see its finances restored, agriculture and trade encouraged, under the auspices of liberty, a formidable navy, an army new modelled, a new harbour in the English channel, to maintain the glory of the French flag, the laws amended, and public education improved. These grand designs, which the archbishop of Toulouse was incapable of executing, brought upon him the indignation of all the restless and factious spirits in the land. The prelate did not know that, in all political feuds, the welfare of the state is, in the eyes of the opposite party, an unpardonable grievance, and that they stifle every project of that na-

ture, as soon as they acquire the power of doing so.

The abbé Sabbatier, d'Epréménil, Freteau, who, two days before, had promised a favourable vote, resorted, on the contrary, to the most virulent declamation: d'Epréménil told the king, that he found this difference to exist between a bed of justice and a royal session, "that the first had all the frankness and forms of despotism, and the other all its duplicity." Sabbatier asserted, that Lewis XIV. would have blushed at the concessions France had made to England, in order to prevent a rupture. The duke of Orleans rose, and addressing himself to Lewis XVI. uttered these memorable words, which have since proved so fatal both to the king and to the prince himself.

"Sire, I ask your majesty's leave to lay at your feet, and to submit to this court my individual declaration, which is, that I consider such registering to be illegal; and it would be necessary, for the exculpation of those persons, who are supposed to have deliberated on the measure, to add, that it is done by the express command of your majesty." The king broke up the sitting. The royal person had never, in France, experienced such severe trials. The monarch desired the keeper of the seals to have the duke of Orleans instantly arrested; and the order would have been executed, could the mode of doing it have been agreed on.

The following day, the king banished the duke of Orleans to Villers-Cotteret: Freteau, by his order, was confined in the chateau of Dourlens, and the abbé Sabbatier at Mount Saint Michel. All Paris was in a state of insurrection. The parliament, animated by these popular commotions, demanded their release; the court determined to treat the members of parliament as rebels, forbade the peers to attend in a parliament, which carried its obstinacy so far, as to suspend the registering of the act in favour of the protestants, until the exiled prince and the imprisoned magistrate should be set at liberty. The king, however, permitted the duke of Orleans to go to Raincy. The court, in the meanwhile, threw a variety of disagreeable obstacles in the way of the parliaments: and it proved that, by erroneous sentences, they sometimes condemned the most innocent persons to death. The famous Dupaty, an instrument of the court, in vain endeavoured to inspire them with the greatest uneasiness on this subject; this resolute body, governed by a few turbulent spirits, continued systematically to resist government; and both the court and the parliament, without in the least intending it, attained that degree of mutual rancour that all their actions tended to their respective destruction.

The loan, meanwhile, did not fill up, and the court of Versailles saw its wants encrease with

every succeeding day. Rank and condition in the state, by an unanimous sentiment, without being in league, appeared to enjoy a secret satisfaction in surprising this imprudent court in its penury, and in the embarrassment caused by so singular a deficit. The court of Versailles, in this extremity of distress, in vain held forth its former military tone and its arbitrary language against the revolted parliaments. The more harsh and the prouder the court became, the more did the magistrates, deriving energy from the public clamours, assail it with vigorous remonsrances, with revolutionary decrees, and a great variety of deputations. The parliaments had recently demanded the states-general; they now vilified *lettres de cachet*. The court, extremely embarrassed, resolved intirely to destroy a rebel tribunal, which it could not conquer, and for that purpose, to oppose to it a plenary court, that is to say, a company of the notables of the kingdom, nominated by the king alone, to register the edicts, and annul the patriotic resistance of the parliaments. A clandestine printing office, established at Versailles, and concealed from the eyes of the curious by a triple row of bayonets, already prepared the fatal orders that were to annihilate the parliaments anew, when one of the compositors enclosed a proof of the edicts in a ball of clay, which he threw from a window to an emis-

sary of d'Epréménil, and thus gave the parliament leisure to adopt such measures, as could not fail to disconcert the keeper of the seals, Lamoignon, and the archbishop, Loménie, the authors of the projected overthrow.

Government, on the other hand, published a statement of the finances, as if such a measure could have given any degree of credit to a court, which the two ministers were rendering every day more and more odious. In the statement alluded to, the court exhibited a deficit of one hundred and sixty-one millions for the service of the current year, 1788. In order to soothe the spirit of the malcontents, it pretended, that this deficit would be filled up, and an overplus ensue of seven millions, by means of a diversity of measures that were in contemplation: but such was the state of the public mind, that the monarchy, by its injudicious schemes, was destroying itself, with its *statements*, just as the factions of the revolution defeated the end of their pursuits with their *constitutions*. Figure to yourself this very court announcing to all France the existence of a dreadful deficit, and see it at the same time declaring by a statement, a *compte rendu*, that it was filled up, by the plans that had been adopted. The nation being reduced to a state of absolute stupefaction, knew not whether to consider the deficit, as a trick, or as a reality. Every order in the state was inclined to

join the parliaments, even the clergy and the great officers of the crown, in order to support them in their opposition. Observe, on the other hand, the consequences of this fatal invention of the *comptes rendus*. Government, in order to persuade France that the statement of 1788 was no fiction, appealed to the judgment of five financiers. It was truly farcical to see the articles of the statement made for the year 1788, verified by Didelot, Saint-Amaud, and Salverte; the royal authority degraded itself so far, as to class its administrative concerns with the litigious suits of private citizens. During these critical events, the parliaments being informed of want of harmony at court, prepared themselves to sustain the attack, which they were destined to experience, and of which the ball of clay had apprized them. In the number of great statesmen who sided with the magistracy, was the duke of Luynes, who supported the rights of the nation both with zeal and with dignity; the dukes of Aumont and Larochefoucault, who since that period played a more distinguished part in the revolution; Clermont-Tonnere, bishop of Châlons, a peer of France, the dukes of Uzès, Villars-Brancas, Praslin, Fitz-James, Luxembourg, Piney, and the benevolent duke of Charost. All these strictly united with the parliament, assembled on the third of May, and unanimously declared, all the chambers being assembled, "That, learning from pub-

lic notoriety, that the national welfare was seriously menaced by an attack aimed at the magistracy, and considering that the opposition of parliament to the two taxes, their declaration of being incompetent to granting the subsidies, their solicitations to obtain the convocation of the states-general, and their remonstrances relative to the individual liberty of citizens, were the causes of the ministers' operations against the magistrates; considering moreover, that the aim of these unfriendly operations was merely to conceal former extravagance, without calling in the aid of the states-general, if possible, and that the system of despotic power evinced by ministers, announced the fatal intention of annihilating the principles of monarchy; declare, that France is a monarchy, governed by the king agreeably to the laws, several of which include and personally concern the rights of the reigning family; that the prerogative vests in the nation, of freely granting supplies through the medium of the states-general, regularly convened: they declare also the stability of the magistrates, the customs and capitulations of the provinces, the privileges of the courts to verify the king's orders, and to cause such to be registered, when they are found in unison with the laws; and lastly, that every individual citizen inherits the right of not being liable to be tried but by competent judges."

The parliament then added, "that all the magistrates renounced every place different from that, which they held; and that in case of the dispersion of the body, parliament would deposit the present act in the hands of the king, of his august family, of the peers of the realm, of the states-general, and of each of the *united* or *separated* orders, representing the nation."

Government, disconcerted at a decree, which put an end to the military monarchy, in order to substitute in France a monarchy, in some measure, similar to that of England, dispatched a *lettre de cachet* for the purpose of arresting d'Epréménil and Montsabert, who took refuge in the hall. The parliament sent a deputation to the court against these measures, and placed all the magistracy under the protection of the king and of the law. It was decreed, that remonstrances should be sent to the king, in order to induce him to listen to counsels, widely differing from those, that were hurrying lawful authority and public liberty into an abyss, whence it would at length prove impossible to recover them.

In this never-to-be-forgotten assembly were seen the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Châlons, the archbishop of Paris, marshal de Noailles, and twelve other peers of France. The hall was

crouded with spectators about midnight, the answer to these formidable resolutions being expected from Versailles; but instead of replying to the remonstrances, the archbishop of Toulouse sent a battalion of French guards, a company of grenadiers, preceded by miners with their axes lifted, and a company of Swiss guards. The hall was surrounded. Dagoult, captain of the French guards and field marshal, appeared before the parliament as bearer of the sovereign's orders, and, in the uncouth language of a soldier, asked where were M. M. d'Epréménil and Montsabert? "We are all d'Epréménils, all Montsaberts," replied the magistrates in a haughty tone.

Dagoult, embarrassed, retired; but came back again the following day with an officer of justice, whom he commanded, under pain of imprisonment, to point out to him M. M. d'Epréménil and Montsabert. The officer casting his eyes over the assembly, answered that he did not see them. "Take care," returned Dagoult, "the king's order is, that you should shew them to me." "Upon my honour, sir," replied the officer, "I do not see them." Dagoult once more withdrew, as if to adopt new measures, when d'Epréménil desired that he might be called back.

The magistrate thus addressed him: "I am d'Epréménil, sir." The commander immediately shewed him the king's order to follow him. "To

follow you; sir, my honour forbids me to obey arbitrary commands, and if I should refuse acceding to the mandate, are your soldiers to use violence towards me?"—"Can you doubt it?" said Dagoult, "should you presume to oppose any resistance?"—"I will follow you then," rejoined d'Epréménil, "to save you from so scandalous a proceeding." It was observed that the bearer of the order, affected at this scene, left d'Epréménil sufficient time to assure the assembly that he would preserve, in the dungeon of the archbishop, his inviolable attachment to the constitution and the liberties of France. He was put under arrest and conducted to the island of Saint Marguerite, and Montsabert to Pierre-en-Cise. The name of Dagoult became odious to every Frenchman throughout France, nor was it ever pronounced without being accompanied by the execrations of all good citizens. Dagoult having withdrawn, the parliament came to the following resolutions.

"This court, deeply impressed with the affecting scene of the arrest of two magistrates, torn by violence from the sanctuary of justice and the laws, by an armed body who have violated the asylum of liberty, has decreed: that it shall be represented to the lord the king, that he himself would have been affected, had he witnessed the sad, the solemn silence which preceded, accom-

panied, and followed the execution of these rigorous orders, enforced in the midst of a most respectable assembly, and the distinguished manliness with which the arrested magistrates sustained the violence inflicted on them, and which the peers of France and the other magistrates have felt in common with them, as if it had been the individual case of each." The parliament then expatiated in praise of the two imprisoned members, and concluded with soliciting their enlargement.

Two days after, the king replied to this decree by a bed of justice: he curtailed the parliament, so as to reduce it to the grand chamber, and a chamber of inquests. He established a plenary court, chosen by himself for the purpose of registering the laws; he suspended the functions of the parliaments, &c.

The members of the grand chamber unanimously resolved to resist the new avocations which they were ordered to assume. During these commotions M. d'Aguesseau, the son-in-law of the keeper of the seals, Lamoignon, the chief author of these disorders, united his voice to the energetic efforts of the parliament. Even the son of Lamoignon called heaven and earth to witness the sincerity of his accession to the general wish. The king, on the following day, was to hold his plenary court; though the members appointed to

compose it, protested against its sitting. The determination to enter a protest against, and to oppose the will of the court, was so unanimous throughout France, that even the Châtelet protested against the system of the court, which had reckoned on the submission of the inferior tribunals, the prerogatives of which were dignified and augmented by the new constitution. The court of aids and the chamber of accounts evinced the same degree of patriotism. While the hall of justice was full of soldiers, who prevented the people from approaching it, members of a very inferior tribunal, that of the election, were seen stealing through the hall, between files of fixed bayonets, disguised in coloured clothes, with the intent of assembling for the purpose of publishing vigorous resolutions against Lamoignon and Loménie.

The provincial parliaments meanwhile experienced similar acts of violence on the part of government. Their places of meeting were filled by the soldiery, themselves exiled and dispersed by the military commandants of the provinces. These commandants became objects of universal obloquy, lost the whole of their credit, and were sunk so low in the public estimation, that they were called *order carriers*, an appellation, which the people converted into that of *water waiters*. In like matter an epidemic disorder of a very danger-

ous nature prevailing, it was called, in this same spirit of irony, from one end of France to the other, the *brienne*, from the name of the prime minister. In this general ferment of all the orders in the state, it was observed, that the provincial parliaments, according to the genius of those places most remote from the court, carried their resentment to a much higher degree of acrimony than the parliament of the capital. They declared every Frenchman *infamous*, and a *traitor* to his native land, who should, on that occasion, comply with the orders of government. Thus was the revolutionary tempest gathering on all sides; nor did the court perceive the dreadful precipice on the brink of which it was tottering.

But the invisible hand of England, which guided every event, had fathomed it with greater certainty. Arthur Young, d'Ivernois, Duroveray, and other emissaries, were sounding Paris and the provinces, and organizing the revolution. It has since been observed that, in the contest between the court and the parliaments, the most violent of the magistrates knew how to distinguish a constitution formed of the states-general, according to the regulations of 1614, or according to that of a different system; while the court remained ignorant of the distinctions that existed between the states-general, and a *national*

assembly, which it promised in these terms to the parliaments.

The court, notwithstanding, was not deficient in receiving wise and prudent counsel; but the last remonstrances of the clergy proved, that it was struck with that fatal blindness, which portends a speedy dissolution.

CHAP. X.

Last Remonstrances of the Clergy of France to Louis XVI. on the Liberties and Rights of the Nation—On the Illegality of the plenary Court—On the Illegality of annulling the Parliaments—History of the national Rights with respect to the King—Property is the Basis of all Rights in France—Imposts were only gratuitous Gifts in France, and Donations of Courtesy—Portrait of Mr. Necker, and those infected with the Anglomania, by the Clergy.

IT was on this occasion that Loménie convened a meeting extraordinary of the clergy. Accustomed to govern the antecedent assemblies, he also thought he could still rule over that body, could thence derive great pecuniary advantages, and could encourage the clergy to oppose the parliament. The time and circumstances favourable to such an opposition were no more. It was no longer the clergy of 1750, so well satisfied with having humbled the parliaments. There was a party formed and directed by the bishop of Blois, Themines, who, instead of voting for the grant of a gratuitous donation, declaimed with ardour and acrimony against the plenary court, against the banishment of the magistrates, and the destruction of their order.

The whole assembly were in a very short time animated with the same spirit as M. de Themines. The members represented to the king, that they were the only order in the state who, on this occasion, could raise their voice; and that it was their bounden duty to lay the wishes of the absent at the foot of the throne. "Our silence," said the clergy, "would be a crime from which the nation and posterity could never absolve us. Your majesty, in the bed of justice of the 8th of May, effected a great change with respect both to persons and things. We had hoped, that, if such a revolution were to happen, (the destruction of the parliaments) it would have been the consequence, rather than the origin, of the states-general. Such is the constitution of this kingdom, that all laws are conceived in the privy-council, independent of the sovereign, and afterwards verified and published in his public and permanent councils. The remonstrances, the delays, and the objections of the courts, constitute a part of their duty; and your majesty, by confirming this privilege of remonstrating in your royal edict of 1774, has imposed on yourself the obligation of hearing them; for we live under a moderate government, which is guided rather by communications and advice, than by sudden revolutions, which substitute fear in the room of confidence and affection. The prince's *will* and

pleasure, unauthorised by his courts, may be considered as his temporary *will*. It acquires the dignity which insures its execution and enjoins obedience, only, according to the language of our ancestors at the states of Blois, in 1577, after the motives and remonstrances of your courts have been heard by your privy council. The constancy of the maxims, the weight of the council, the solemnity of the forms, and the majestic submission of monarchs to the laws, establish empires on an unshaken foundation, and give to the laws themselves a sacred and an immortal character.

"Your majesty has issued a decree for the restoration of the *plenary court*, but this court has recalled an ancient throne, without recalling the ancient ideas annexed to it. Were it even the supreme tribunal of our kings, it is now no longer that numerous assembly of prelates and barons united in one compact body. The nation now sees in it only a court-tribunal, from the obsequiousness of which it would have much to apprehend, during a minority or a regency.

"The edict announces, that the unity of this tribunal would insure *promptitude in enacting laws;* but promptitude is only desirable when it is not accompanied by the power of doing harm. The unity of a tribunal in France, is an advantage only inasmuch as the unity of the laws may be an

advantage. It is extremely essential that every country should pay strict attention to the laws; but then it is not at all essential that the laws of every country should be the same. Diversity of climates, population, morals, and usages, form a vast empire; it was on that account the Romans, in order to attach the vanquished nations to their cause, took care to leave them their laws and their institutions. The ancient plenary court might be the only tribunal existing in the state when the kingdom was confined within narrow bounds; but Normandy, Guienne, Dauphiné, Provence, Bretagne, were united to the crown on the express condition that they should preserve their laws and customs inviolate. Absolute justice and uniform laws, would become distributive injustice with respect to them. A prelate once said to your august great grandfather, on the subject of good faith in treaties entered into between the provinces and the crown: 'They are so many contracts made with your people, for the purpose of rendering them your subjects: will you begin by violating your fundamental title to power?'

"The prerogative of governing according to your wisdom and power, so as to direct periods and events, promote peace and happiness at home, and command respect abroad, are the sublime rights of your majesty. To bear the weight of

public taxes, to acquit them with the sweat of their brows, and to offer you freely a part of their labour and their toil, is the incumbent duty of your subjects. To give free assent to the raising supplies when necessary, to urge remonstrances complained of, and state grievances, are duties which are prescribed in the last will and testament of our ancestors; they engraved it on all our monuments, and this inheritance is the only guarantee of public prosperity. Your majesty's power can never expect a more permanent foundation. It is under the reign of a prince who is the friend of order and of economy, whose passions have never been burdensome to his subjects, that we have witnessed the enormity of taxes and loans, which form an abyss that will never be forgotten in our history.

"The French people, sire, *are not to be taxed at will.* The Franks were a free people. The princes then lived on the produce of their own domains, and on the gifts presented to them in the field of honour. In the reign of St. Lewis, the king could not extend his regulations over the fiefs of the barons without their individual consent. When, after the emancipation of the serfs, human nature began to resume its native dignity, and the people to consider themselves as something, the three orders appeared at the states-general, where the supplies were obtained from good will and through special favour, by that

liberality and courtesy, which can neither turn to the prejudice nor slavery of the subject, nor become a new prerogative to the sovereign. Such is the ancient law of the kingdom, preserved intire in the state counties. The clergy, in their assemblies, still afford a view of the principles and forms of it; they have always preserved and claimed them, not as privileges, but as the remains of the ancient liberties of the nation. If these liberties be *suspended*, they are not *destroyed*; if the parliaments have verified the taxes on their individual authority, they had at least a colour for doing so. The nation denominated them, '*the states* brought down to the last stage.' The parliaments that have watched over the national prerogatives, are deserving of national gratitude; they merited it also when they remarked in 1777, that the poll-tax, the *vingtièmes*, and every other money-bill had been clandestinely introduced, and that it was high time to declare them incompetent courts. To substitute in the place of ancient corporations, which were the depositaries of the laws, and of public confidence, a solitary and dependent tribunal, and to transfer into foreign hands the rights of the nation, that has not alienated them, is to excite an alarm and a consternation, which it is our duty to depose in your majesty's paternal bosom.

"God forbid, sire, that the bishops of your

realm should ever allow the lustre of your crown to be tarnished. They all bear in their hearts the solemn oath of allegiance they have sworn to you: gratitude is to them a religious duty. They only aim at confirming your dominion, both over the hearts and over the consciences of your people. Ah! sire, in what place could your authority find more zealous defenders, than in the midst of our assemblies? The throne and the altar rest on the same basis, and their enemies are the same.

"*We abominate that turbulent spirit of the age*, which is ever seeking after *foreign maxims*, equally inapplicable to our country, to our manners, and our laws. The reformers, being without judgment as without experience, are, in our opinion, of the same description, because they are all actuated by the same motives. We are Frenchmen, sire, and we are royalists; we know no higher title. Affection towards our king is the first sentiment of our hearts.

"Heaven has ordained, that kings should reign *over* us, and *for* us: our happiness is their province, their duty, of which they must render a rigorous account. That they are consecrated by religion, is taught even in the forests: 'If you are a God,' said a savage nation to a celebrated conqueror, 'you ought to be beneficent to man-

kind.' Our functions are sacred, when, from the altar, we conjure heaven to pour down its choicest blessings on kings and on their subjects; they are also such, when, after having taught the people their duty, we urge remonstrances to assure their rights; when we lay truth at the foot of the throne, and when we pray for the afflicted and for the absent, plundered of their rights and liberty. Holy pontiffs have often interceded for the people, and softened the minds of conquerors, of emperors, and of kings. The clergy of France, sire, lift their suppliant hands to you: it is truly sublime to see power yield to supplication. Your majesty's glory does not consist in being *king* of *France*, but in your being king of the French people, and the hearts of your subjects form the brightest jewel in the royal diadem."

It was written in the book destined to record the fate of the monarchy of France, that it would be assaulted in the last year of its existence, by the corporations most interested in its preservation, and that two persons, viz. Lamoignon and Loménie, whose ancestors had contributed to the establishment of regal authority, would unite their tyrannical and injudicious measures for its overthrow. The notables, the clergy, the parliaments, had all opposed the most vigorous resistance to the authority of the king, and now the nobility and the provincial states evinced, in their

turn, the same indocility, and the same re entment. I did not travel through these numerous provinces, in order to dwell on the variety of critical situations which they experienced—the insurrection was universal. I will, however, pause upon such as furnish history with some facts analogous to their local characteristics. The connexion, the union, and the energy of the people of Bretany, Dauphiné, and Bearn are fresh in the memory of us all.

CHAP. XI.

Insurrection of the Nobility in the Provinces, and the State-countries —Bearn, the Cradle of Henry IV. becomes the rallying Post— Character of the Bearnese—Insurrection of Bretany—Deputation of the Twelve Members—Their Imprisonment in the Bastile—The Deputation of Fifty-two Members—Rising of the Nobility of that Province—Commotions of the People and the Highlanders in Dauphiné— The Alarm Bell causes that Province to rebel—Meeting of the Three States of the Province at the Castle of Vizile—The Court becomes sensible of the Penury of the Royal Coffers—It dismisses Loménie with a Cardinal's Hat, and recals Mr. Necker.

THE nobility of Bearn, situated on the heights of the Pyrenean mountains, perceiving, that despotism was settling its power by means of laws, at the court of Versailles, expressed some sentiments which savoured of independence. The parliament of Pau, supported by the nobility, the clergy, and the tiers état, resolved not to discontinue its functions. In the midst of these events, and of the greatest discontent, the Bearnese still preserved that style, which we find so amiable and so gay in Montaigne and in the great Henry. There is something so original and picturesque in their complaints, that we will present them to our readers just as we collected them.

"Behold the cradle of the great Henry," said the nobles of Bearn to the duke of Guiche; "under this sacred standard the Bearnese entertain no fear of death. They still feel the blood of their ancestors circulating through their veins, of those ancestors who seated the *Bourbons* on the throne of France. We are no rebels. We claim our contract, and the good faith of a king, whom we all love. The Bearnese were born free, nor will they die slaves. They are poor, but they are honest: a great monarch declared such to be the case. They are ready to sacrifice their fortune for their king; but let *him* respect the contract he has entered into with them. Let him owe every thing to our affection for him, and nothing to compulsion. Our blood belongs to him and to our native country. We will be prodigal of it when we have to oppose the enemies of the state; but let no one come to take away our lives, while we are defending our liberty."

This cradle of Henry IV., was, from that instant an idol that inflamed their imagination. Upon this cradle the Bearnese swore to die free in asserting the rights of their country. The Bretons, who were at all times peculiarly attached to their parliament, seeing that Loménie and Lamoignon, as the duke d'Aiguillon had done before them, were exerting their best endeavours to overthrow that body of magistrates, became

much more formidable in their wrath, than the inhabitants of Bearn. The count de Thiars, the military commandant of that province, having had the boldness to forbid the president of the nobility to assemble; the day following this order, an hundred and thirty gentlemen carried him a decree declaring every Breton infamous, who should accept any office to the prejudice of the magistrates. Twelve hundred gentlemen assembled at St. Brieux, and at Vannes, all hereditary members of the states of the province, sent a deputation of twelve to the king to claim the rights of Bretany. The counts de la Fruglaye, de Guer, de Netumieres, de Tremergat, de Carné, de Bedée, de Rouerie, de Feroniere, and the viscount of Cicé took their departure for Paris, with orders to see neither Loménie nor Lamoignon. When they arrived at Paris, they joined the malcontents of the court, and the most distinguished revolutionists of 1789. There were meetings held at Paris, in which the dukes of Rohan and Praslin, la Fayette, Boisgelin, and other persons of rank, counteracted the minister's designs. The twelve Bretons, taken into custody by the king's orders, were shut up in the Bastille; Boisgelin lost his place of gentleman of the king's wardrobe. Lafayette, who commanded a division of the army, was, for a short space of time, suspended. Rohan-Chabot was deprived of a

pension of 10,000 livres. And as the duke of Praslin held no office at court, the queen dismissed his wife, who was first lady of the palace.

Bretany mean while, plunged into every excess. The intendant, Bertrand de Molleville, very nearly lost his life, and was loaded with contumely. The Bretons, instead of expressing their astonishment at the imprisonment of their deputies, took up arms, and sent another deputation of eighteen, to replace the twelve who had been confined. They determined thus to increase their number, as fast as the hand of power should arrest them, till all Bretany should be in a state of insurrection, if the court refused to yield to their representations. The court, greatly terrified, listened to these last deputies; but such was the restlessness and ferment of the public mind, that these deputies, as they were returning back to their province after having urged their grievances, were met by fifty more, who were dispatched for the purpose of enforcing the former deputations. It was in vain that Louis XVI. ordered them neither to approach the court, nor the capital; they boldly advanced, resolved to liberate their imprisoned colleagues. In the mean time, every Breton born was so sensibly affected by the insult offered to the constitution of his country, that he expressed the greatest indignation, not to say an innate discontent on the occasion, in which all the inha-

bitants of the province participated. At court, some Breton officers in the guards, most ardently attached to the service of their country, became totally indifferent to that of the sovereign, and resigned their commissions in order to fly to the assistance of their native province. The most distinguished men of rank thus set the example of devoting themselves to the interest of the place of their birth. Of this number were M. M. de Guichen, de Rieux, and de la Trémouille.

The deputies of the nine diocesses of Bretany, announcing themselves as appointed by the province, and as superior in power and dignity to the preceding, very shortly arrived at court, with a memorial, soliciting the liberty of every Breton, whether banished or confined, the restoration of the high courts of parliament, and some peculiar compensation for the assault made against the constitution of their country.

At Grenoble, the popular insurrection in support of the authority of the parliament, was still more alarming. An invisible hand was there trying an experiment on that fatal revolution, which it determined to bring about in France. Clermont Tonnerre, military commandant of Dauphiné, having received orders to send the parliaments into exile, the people, bent upon preventing the execution of the royal mandate, sounded the tocsin, which was heard throughout the neigh-

bourhood. This tocsin, which conveyed the alarm from one village to another, reached the very summits of the mountains, and instantly crowds of highlanders assembled, armed with rustic weapons, rushed into the plains, and made their way to the suburbs of Grenoble, broke down the gates of the city, routed the commandant's guard, forced their way into his dwelling-house, threatened to kill him with their uplifted axes, and to hang him to the lustre of his own saloon; they took the deposed magistrates under their care, conducted them to their hall, and obliged them to take their seats in the parliament; they attacked the king's troops, put them to flight, but, in their turn, experienced also a repulse.

The insurrection of three hundred gentlemen of that province, fortunately gave another bias to these popular commotions. They swore solemnly by their swords to defend the rights of their province to the last drop of their blood. The lower orders, animated by such an example, took up arms to defend the nobles. Every one, even the old and venerable Pompignan, archbishop of Vienne, swore to unite against the tyranny of the court. They all got ready to go to Vizile, there to bind themselves by *a general oath of union on the tomb of Bayard*, and to repel by force of arms the royal troops, should they presume to point their bayonets against the inhabitants of Dauphiné.

In effect, five hundred gentlemen assembled at Vizile, where they came to resolutions, expressive of the recal of the parliament of Dauphiné, the convocation of the states-general, that of the states of the province composed of the clergy and nobility, forming together one chamber, and of the *tiers états*, composed of a number equal to the other two; their union with the other provinces was resolved on; and they declared they would resist payment of every kind of tax till the meeting of the states-general, and the re-establishment of the magistrates should take place. In fine, they declared those *infamous, and traitors to their country*, who should accept of places in the tribunals established by Loménie and Lamoignon. In vain did the terrified court restore to the inhabitants of Dauphiné their ancient states, which it had endeavoured to constitute as it judged convenient; the people of that province led on by an invisible hand, which not a few suspected to be Mr. Necker's, regulated them in their own way, under the guidance of Mounier, who was said to be Mr. Necker's favourite, and who was framing for France that specious constitution, composed of the three orders, while, in fact, the majority and the strength of the nation resided in the *tiers-état*.

The archbishop of Sens, mean while, experienced a high degree of uneasiness of another nature;

the royal treasury was decreasing every day by a variety of needless expenses, particularly those occasioned by his own ruinous system, of marching and counter-marching troops in every direction, for the purpose of making head against the insurgents in the provinces. The day of reckoning with the creditors of the state was fast approaching; he saw no mode of raising the necessary supplies, and therefore resolved, in order to soften down its threatened effects, to hold out the promise of assembling the states-general, which, till this crisis, he had avoided. The monarch, assailed on every quarter, appointed the opening of the states for the first of May, 1789; and, yielding at last, but too late, to the wishes of the irritated nation, which had petitioned for the abolition of the plenary court, he suspended that tribunal till the opening of the states-general should take place; though it was impossible it ever could have been organized. The king issued a decree, stating, that he would lodge in the hands of the nation the whole of its rights and privileges, and that it was his earnest desire to connect himself in closer bonds with his subjects. Very little regard was paid to a sacrifice, extorted by force and discontent.

Six days after the above declaration, the treasury stopped payment, and endeavoured to satisfy the creditors of the state with paper currency.

Suddenly rumours of a distressing nature were circulated throughout the capital, consternation was depicted in every countenance, which seemed to portend the approach of fresh calamities. But that which affected the court more than any other circumstance was the absolute want of specie: this deficiency was more forcibly felt than all other grievances, and immediately brought them to a true sense of their condition. The queen, and the king's brothers, proved themselves, on this occasion, genuine French citizens: they joined in urging the archbishop's dismission, and the 25th of August, 1788, was the memorable day, in which France was delivered from the administration of that prelate. He withdrew from court with the promise of a cardinal's hat; and the brevet of the coadjutorship of his archbishopric of Sens in favour of his nephew; so well had he acquired the art of insinuating himself into the king and queen's good graces, even at a period when he was hurrying the monarchy to its dissolution, by the ridiculous and violent measures of his administration.

The tidings of a brilliant victory could scarcely be received with the degree of enthusiasm which the people testified on being informed of the archbishop's removal. The imprisoned Bretons, having intelligence of the event, found means to illuminate the platform of the Bastille in an in-

stant. The young people of Paris, recollecting the popular rejoicings which took place when the abbé Terray and M. de Calonne resigned their political situations, gave themselves up to the same intemperate mirth: illuminations, fire-works, rockets, and joyous acclamations proved the satisfaction of the public; but these loud and tumultuous expressions were not sanctioned by the court of Versailles. During three successive days, these nocturnal revels were carried to the utmost verge of riot: at Place Dauphine, the populace compelled the inhabitants to illuminate, and, as the English do on such occasions, broke the windows of those who did not comply with their wishes. Several attorney's clerks even stopped and importuned the passengers for money to buy squibs and rockets. M. de Villedeuil, in order to learn his majesty's wish, addressed him in the following words:—"I intreat your majesty to permit me to give you an account of the excesses committed by the populace of Paris, and to receive your orders for marshal Biron, and count d'Affry to act." Lewis XVI. issued two mandates, the first of which was insignificant; but the second directed that the mob should be dispersed by martial law.

In consequence of this order, the city guards attacked, *not the populace*, but the *people of Paris*, for the crowd was composed of inhabitants

of every class; and, on this occasion, M. Florian, the marquis of Nesle, and several knights of the order of St. Lewis, were struck, wounded and trampled on by the soldiery, like other indifferent persons. The chevalier Dubois, who commanded this military expedition, was seen galloping over the foot-way of the Pont Neuf, striking indiscriminately on every side with his drawn sabre, both the mob, and the unoffending spectators.

The people were dispersed, and the day following, when they assembled in greater numbers, armed with clubs and sticks, the chevalier Dubois did not think proper to make his appearance. On this occasion, the attornies' clerks dressed up a grotesque figure, representing an archbishop, placed it in a kneeling posture before the statue of Henry IV., holding a lighted torch, in atonement for past crimes and misdemeanors; they burned this figure, and threw the ashes into the Seine. After this mock execution, the populace formed into smaller bodies, and proceeded to the guard-houses, with the intent of setting them on fire, in order to punish the soldiery for having, on the preceding day, drawn their swords upon, and attacked them in the moment of their rejoicings.

At the guard-house, or *place de grêve*, the sentinels fired upon them, and killed twenty-five

of the most daring of the assailants. The next day, the French and the Swiss guards together succeeded in restoring peace to the capital, but similar scenes were repeated throughout the provinces, and the ferment was become general.

The archbishop of Sens, conscious of the universal joy his disgrace occasioned, withdrew as silently as possible out of the kingdom, and by the nearest road reached Italy, where he received a cardinal's hat. Detested by the court of Rome, slighted by the emigrants, he found security only in France, whither he returned, after having meanly obtained permission of the leaders of the revolutionary faction. It was from Danton that he purchased the favour, from Danton, the terror of the queen's party, to whom a certain abbé, Arnaud, paid the sum of fifty thousand livres. The cardinal de Brienne took the civic oath, submitted to the revolution, sent back his cardinal's hat to Rome, and at last killed himself during the revolutionary government.

A few days after the archbishop withdrew from office, Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, was obliged to recal the parliaments, and then to resign. On hearing these tidings, the joy of the people even exceeded what they had expressed on the archbishop's dismission. Dubois, by firing at the Parisians, instead of repressing their spirit, had inspired them with fresh ardour. On the 15th of

September, 1788, a mob of young men dressed up another effigy, in the *costume* of a magistrate, and burned it. On the 16th, great crowds assembled on the Pont Neuf, the very place where, on the preceding day, Dubois had shed the blood of the people, and stopping all the carriages that passed before the statue of Henry IV., forced their owners to get out, and cry, "Bless Henry IV., and the devil take Lamoignon." It was remarked, that the duke of Orleans, when he returned from banishment, took great pleasure in passing that way, and uttered the same expressions with apparent delight: many other persons of rank, dissatisfied with the government, followed his example, and passed in their state carriages, with their numerous retinue.

While the mob was thus occupied, a party of *marechausée* happened to pass by, having a robber under their care. The prisoner said he was a deserter, and besought the populace to rescue him —they did so—they took off his irons, broke them in pieces, gave him cloaths, detained the party, made a collection, and gave the robber four *louis d'ors*. The same evening they dressed up two immense figures, the one accoutred in mock-pontificals, the other in a judge's robe, and they insisted that the *abbé Vermont*, who was passing by at the time, should hear their con-

fession, and exhort them to die with resignation. A party of the rioters then carried one of the figures to the house of Lamoignon, in order to burn it there, as well as the house itself: the other was taken to de Brienne's, to undergo the same fate; while a third division proceeded to Dubois's: but they were all dispersed by the soldiers. It was observed, on this occasion, that the women were the most inveterate, and the least afraid of the military. The massacre became complete in the streets of Saint Meslée and Saint Dominique. Two divisions of troops, entering at the same moment at the opposite ends of the last street, made the most dreadful butchery, involving indiscriminately in the carnage, the peaceable inhabitants of the street, who were returning home in the evening, the populace who had been suborned by the malcontents, and the spectators of the riot.

M. Lamoignon's end was nearly similar to the archbishop's: finding himself under the necessity of recalling the parliaments, and of seeing the states-general convened, after he had so long opposed that operation, he was one morning found weltering in his blood; leaving posterity in doubt whether his death was to be ascribed to accident, or to suicide.

Thus did the last year of the reign of Lewis XVI. pass on. The history of this monarch be-

gan with a narrative of a massacre, on the day of his marriage; other massacres, concluded the year 1788, so fatal to royalty. But at the period of his nuptials, they were the enemies of the court that planned the murder of the people, who were rejoicing at an event, so important in his reign; whereas, in 1788, it was that very court itself, which, being at the same time weak and apprehensive of further danger, signed this second massacre.

CHAP. XII.

Portraits of M. Loménie de Brienne, successively Archbishop of Toulouse and Sens, and Prime Minister to Lewis XVI. during the last Year of the Ancient French Monarchy—He is drawn by his own Hand both before and during his Administration.

M. De Loménie, who had raised himself to the ministry by his being reputed a philosopher and a friend of liberty, had scarcely attained the elevation he aimed at, before he became the tyrant of France. As early as the year 1752, M. de Loménie had resolved to be distinguished, not for the learning, the piety, and the humility which so well become his station; but for the daring singularity of his opinions. Philosophy was yet in its cradle, when he acquired some reputation by the famous thesis he maintained at the Sorbonne, less as a divine than as a materialist. He denied the existence of all innate ideas in man concerning the Deity; he ridiculed the notion of providence; he advanced maxims, favorable to the jesuits, to the *bull-unigenitus*, and asserted, that Fénélon had completely refuted the doctrines of Port-Royal. Thus did M. de

Loménie form in his imagination, in his early years, a mass of materialism and jesuitism, which insured him, at the same time, the protection of those two powerful and opposite parties, by which his ambition might one day be gratified, whatever might be the issue of the prevailing discussions between the philosophers and the jesuits, who were equally the enemies of jansenism. In case of the jesuits being worsted and sacrificed by the philosophers, the abbé Loménie would remain on the philosophical side: should the latter yield to the assaults of the jesuits, the abbé Loménie had assailed the tenets of the jansenists, and merited the attention of the opposite party. He was wanting neither in policy, nor in foresight.

This equivocal conduct raised him many enemies among the worthy characters of every party, who could neither tolerate this versatility nor such new doctrines. A meeting of the Sorbonne was called, and it is reported, that the young abbé calmed the fury of the storm, and saved his materialism, by humbling himself so far as to fall on his knees, and implore pardon of a doctor of the Sorbonne, to whom the decision of the case had been intrusted. The abbé de Loménie, in fine, took orders, and was appointed grand vicar of Rouen. Totally devoted to the duke of Choiseuil, he declaimed against the

jesuits, at the time that minister suppressed their order. By the duke's interest he was nominated by M. de Jarente, in 1761, to the bishopric of Coudone, and three years after to the archbishopric of Toulouse. Having become an anti-jesuit and a philosopher, he had the reputation of being the first man who had introduced atheism among the clergy of France, and he published his system at a period, when M. de Choiseul fancied it was both fashionable and useful to foster it. He soon became so conspicuous, as to merit a place in the memoranda of the dauphin, father of Lewis XVI. who marked him down as an unbeliever and a libertine. Being a very distinguished member, in consequence of his see, of the states of Languedoc, he quickly obtained the greatest celebrity, and was esteemed an excellent judge. It was never suspected that he was, in a great measure, indebted for his fame to the magistrates of my province, who had the singular modesty of submitting their reports to him, which passed in the world for his own. History, in its justice, should render to M. de Lasage and M. de Montferrier, syndics of my province, the honour which belongs to them. "The archbishop of Toulouse," the former would sometimes say, "is considered as a friend of liberty: it is reported, that he aims at being prime minister: should his wishes

ever be gratified, I pronounce beforehand that he will prove a tyrant."

It was to the archbishop of Toulouse that the duke of Choiseul applied to recommend him a clergyman qualified to be sent to Vienna, for the purpose of instructing Maria Antoinetta, previous to her marriage, in our language, customs, and manners. The abbé de Vermont was the person chosen on the occasion; and it was he, who, recollecting his ancient patron, when he was placed near the queen in the office of lecturer, continually represented him to that princess as a person admirably qualified for a minister; but Lewis XVI., instructed by his father's memoirs, rejected him whenever he attempted to rise to that dignity.

The philosophical system was constantly that which he followed, as the means of attaining his wished-for elevation: he took care to render himself conspicuous in his diocese by his toleration, by the freedom he allowed to opinion, and at his palace of Brienne, by the singularity of his conversation and conduct. To so great a height was the indecorum of his general deportment carried, that there were not wanting prelates who, forgetful of their sacred character, condesended to act there the most indecent comedies and farces. At the death of M. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, M. de Marboeuf, who had the power

of appointing to the vacant benefices, was daring enough to promote him to that see, which is considered by the clergy of France as the metropolitan church, with which they had an epistolary correspondence, and which, in fact, rendered the archbishop of Paris a kind of primate. When this was known, all the sound part of the clergy, particularly the religious orders, vehemently exclaimed against the choice. Pamphlets from every quarter appeared against him. The princess of Marsan, the very heroine of the devotees, complained to Lewis XVI., who had been imposed upon, and prevailed upon him to retract his nomination; while M. de Vergennes, who was in possession of the king's confidence, induced him to give the see to a deserving and virtuous character. This defeat was calculated to operate upon his mind as a wholesome warning, and prevent the archbishop from thinking any longer of being raised to the first posts in the kingdom; but the effect was diametrically opposite; it tended only to irritate him, and urged him daily to employ fresh means to destroy a party, which had thus frustrated his ambitious views. His acknowledged atheism, and his entire attachment to the queen, meanwhile, had rendered him an object of such detestation to M. de Vergennes, that he uniformly set his face against his being promoted to any office in the administration. It was to

strengthen himself against this party, that the wary prelate leaned to the side of opposition; devoting himself first to M. Turgot, next to Mr. Necker, then to M. de Calonne, indiscriminately; notwithstanding which, in the first assembly of the notables, he threw himself into the very centre of the cabal formed against the two last ministers, and contributed, jointly with the queen's party, to Calonne's dismission, and to Necker's banishment. We have already observed in what manner he governed France, when he became the successor of these men. Never before had so vain and irascible a character gained admittance into the administration. Turning into ridicule the public opinion, which was so severe against him, satisfied with his personal merit, and really thinking himself the most accomplished of statesmen, he never surrendered a particle of his tenets to the opinion of the public. He believed that, in history, he should be placed by the side of the cardinals Richelieu and Ossat; with this differance, however, that he was firmly persuaded, previous to his administration, that by his philosophical innovations he had introduced civilization into the see, and that by his birth and his clerical dignity, he enobled philosophy. He was persuaded also during his administration, that his reputation of being a friend to philosophy threw a veil over his arbitrary measures in govern-

ment; and that his desperate orders would be well received on account of the philosophy of his plans. At length, being expelled France in 1788, by philosophy itself, armed as she was to repress the excess of his folly; expelled Italy by the religious opinion that prevailed in that country; it was once more to philosophical and revolutionary France that he entrusted the last days of his existence, and that too at a time when the animosity of the people was virulent against him. He was then seen to use every means he could devise to attract the attentions of the revolutionists, by taking all the oaths they prescribed, by favouring the marriage of the priests, and even by offering to perform the ceremony himself: but all would not do; he never succeeded in recovering the confidence of his countrymen.

To form a proper judgment of the archbishop of Toulouse, whom history will regard as the last minister of monarchical France, let us listen to himself, and see him in the mirror of his own opinions. Part of a conversation of his has been preserved by a man of talents, at the time the twelve deputies were confined in the Bastille, and Bretany was augmenting her deputation for the purpose of effecting their release.

"Can you form any idea of the ridiculous con-

duct of these Bretons?" said the archbishop: "see how they harass us with their deputations and their memorials?

"Here are fifty of them come up to town to procure the release of twelve of their countrymen from the Bastille. I wished to reason with them. 'Gentlemen, said I, it is true that your countrymen are in the Bastille, but they are treated with great respect." 'Ah! my lord,' replied one of them, a stupid fellow, who stood behind the rest, 'it is not in order to procure respect for them, that we are come here, but, in good earnest, to obtain their liberty.'

"I confess that I was quite astonished. What is it possible to say to animals of such a description?."

We shall be still better able to estimate the opinions of the archbishop of Toulouse by the following conference, which took place three years and an half previous to his administration.*

* *M. Dillon*, archbishop of Narbonne, having appointed me, in 1788, to deliver the religious and political discourse at the opening of the states of Languedoc, of which he was the hereditary president; I had been advised to shew the work, in manuscript, to M. de Brienne, who was extremely anxious to direct the concerns of that province, over which he had considerable influence. I transmitted him the manuscript, which he promised me he would read with attention, and then mentioned a period at which I might send for it. As it was published in 1784, in octavo, at Paris, by Jorry, under the title of "An Essay on Morals, and their Influence on the Pros-

The archbishop of Toulouse. "I have very attentively read the discourse you were appointed to deliver at the states. You wish to prove that all nations, whether commercial, agricultural, or warlike, have prospered while their manners were austere; but that by the progressive inroads of corruption, they became annihilated. I much fear that this assertion, which savours of Jansenius's system, is not founded on principles of truth; it seems at least to be very opposite to the sentiments maintained at present by the first men of genius in the capital: who are of opinion that men always were, are still, and ever will be men; and that the distinction of those periods, in which nations flourished in proportion as their morals proved good, or degenerated in proportion to their evil propensities, is merely an invention, void of foundation.

Soulavie. I profess, my lord, a contrary doctrine. The encrease of the laws in France, as well as in other countries, and the progressive augmentation of penal statutes, are so many proofs of the encrease and developement of vice

perity or Decline of Empires," I will quote the printed passages, which incurred the archbishop's censure. This conference points out, with great exactness, the progress of those opinions both in favour of, and in opposition to the revolution, which observers remote from the scene of action saw fast approaching, and acquiring fresh strength and energy every day.

in society. If these vices are connected with the encreasing weakness of the mind and its consequent debasement, there is no doubt that a state, firm and flourishing in its vigourous periods, must fall into decay, as debility ensues.

Archbishop of Toulouse. This reply does not refute my observation, which is just and founded. Turn to the historic page of every people; see in Hippocrates' Natural History of Man when attacked by disease, and you will find that the gradual degeneracy of the human race is a mere chimera, and that it is incapable of hurrying a state into ruin: man in 1788 is just what he was two thousand years ago.

Soulavie. The moral and political picture of your own diocese, my lord, is a confirmation of the opposite system. The morals and disorders of the inhabitants of the Pyrenean mountains are those of a rude people, acquainted only with agricultural pursuits and mechanic arts. The disorders and morals of the inhabitants of Toulouse and Paris are those of a people, whom the progress of civil institutions has refined and vitiated. I would venture a bet, that, of a thousand laws, necessary for the capital, and for Toulouse, eight hundred would be useless to the inhabitants of the Pyrenean mountains. A century hence, the progress of commerce, dissi-

pation, and the arts and sciences, will render various laws necessary in Philadelphia, which would now be violently opposed by that virtuous people, were a Washington to propose them.

Archbishop of Toulouse. Your opinion is at least one that is at present strongly contested; which alone is enough to prevent it from constituting the basis of a discourse on the opening of the states of Languedoc: and I cannot suffer it.

Soulavie. The discourse for the opening of the states is, agreeably to custom, both religious and political. With respect to the former subject, it is impossible under the existing circumstances, to deliver any discourse, which shall not be liable to objections; and the same may be asserted with regard to politics. My opinion is, that history and public discourses ought to be severe; for the people neither corrupt the great nor the government, but are corrupted by them.

Archbishop of Toulouse. Let us read. I have marked a passage that appears to me to be the mere effusion and sport of imagination. "The nation acknowledges, my lords, that you preserve the public morals by the wisdom of your deliberations: the people are conscious that you have spread energy through our plains, lately distracted and laid waste by anarchy and rebellion. The eighteenth century with respect to Languedoc, is the brilliant era of *Egypt*, when her lakes and ca-

nals were made for the purpose of being serviceable to a people, who delighted in agriculture; of *Phœnicia*, when her commerce vivified the earth; of *Judea*, when in the reign of David, her agriculture, her commerce, and her religion flourished; of *Rome*, when her virtuous senators presided over the common interest. By slow and almost imperceptible degrees these nations have become the victims of corruption, and have fallen into decay. At first, these people only thought of amusement; to the wish of possessing agreeable objects, succeeds the seducing charm of pleasure: pleasure is closely allied to voluptuousness: voluptuousness leads to depravity: depravity detaches the mind from virtue and religion, and then comes that fatal indifference, which is the parent of impiety and atheism. Such is the progressive gradation of crimes and vices among nations: such the abject state, into which excesses have plunged the most formidable and the most virtuous: and such the fate of every nation on the surface of the globe.*

Archbishop of Toulouse. And of France, of course, continued M. de Brienne, and as she is accused of being impious and atheistical, as *I am* charged with being; we are both I presume in a state of perdition. Is not that what you mean to say at the opening of the approaching states?"

* Discours sur les Moeurs, p. 30, 31.

Soulavie. From whom then are you to expect truth, if those whom you appoint to tell it remain silent upon the subject? Is it a matter of any astonisment, that France should one day share the fate of ancient Greece, of Rome, Carthage, and the Lower Empire? Nations and tribes decay, as well as individuals: and I consider France to be now in a state of dissolution.

Archbishop of Toulouse. And I conceive it to be in a state of gradual improvement; especially under the present reign. Look at the salutary institutions that have distinguished it. What gratitude is not due to M. M. Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, who have effected hourly alterations for the better.

Soulavie. I join in your opinion respecting the personages you mention; but if the improvements do not exceed the profligacy of the age, nor deviate from it at all, the latter will foil it both by its speed and cunning, and the edifice, new on one side, and decayed on the other, will suddenly give way in your presence; bearing the deadly symptoms of a palsy, which holds in its living parts all the effects of a burning fire and fever, while the afflicted members are struck with a deathlike torpor.

Archbishop of Toulouse. That consideration, no doubt, induced you to insert the following

apostrophe: "O Languedoc! precious inheritance of the Bourbons, wilt thou also one day become the prey of barbarous hordes, like so many other fallen nations? Brave and valiant barons, ever ready to shed your blood for the glory of a still powerful and generous monarchy, will you give birth and bequeath your domains to a degenerate race, whose crimes and cowardice will plunge them into ruin? August assembly, who are now devoting yourselves to the public good, will you ever forfeit that integrity which now elevates you? Will you ever bend beneath a tyrant's yoke? Will you, like the Roman senate, become the passive instrument of his crimes? Will you ever, like the Athenian judges, trade in the blood of the innocent, and be controled by an impetuous conqueror? Your records, those valuable deposits, containing so many laws essential to your country's welfare, and those expressions of affection annually reserved to you by the best of kings, will they become the prey of revolutionary plunderers and of revolutions, as the annals of so many other virtuous nations have experienced? Is this statue of the great Lewis, which you erected only after his death; are these canals, which communicate with the ocean; these structures, sacred to religion, to virtue and the public good; are all these monuments, master-pieces of

the arts, to be overturned by barbarous hands, like the sublime models of antiquity."

"But how," continued the prelate, "is it possible to reconcile the mind to such gloomy speculations? Would not one suppose that an army of Goths was on the point of overturning the French monarchy? What can have put such alarming ideas into your mind? Where are your data?—the public edifices burned, our cities plundered, our monuments, our statues destroyed. . . . .

Soulavie. Since I have applied myself to the study of our ancient history, and to that of the present age, and have been employed in collecting so many treatises on administration, it has been easy for me to perceive, that virtues are become rare; that there exists a dearth of integrity and public spirit, rendering government incapable of bearing the structure, reared by Henry IV. and Lewis XIV. I have upwards of a hundred documents that prove this decay. What is become of that common honesty, which distinguished France under Henry IV., and during the reign of his grand-son? Whither has public faith fled? Is not the characteristic probity of our ancestors absorbed by a species of epidemic vanity? Formerly there were Frenchmen found at court. Look there

now, and you will find it crowded with egotists, and egotists alone.

Archbishop of Toulouse. There exists perhaps more integrity than at any former period. The proofs, which establish the improvements in our different institutions and our morals, are not less striking, than the plausibility of the contrary position. Nothing, for instance, is more remote from truth, than the following passage of your discourse, which I have also marked.

"The duty, we owe our country, is forgotten, and the sacred, the adorable name of *country*, which created the Maccabees, gave birth to heroes, and was once, in France, the source of every sublime idea, is an expression now that excites ridicule, and is of no avail. The great are become insensible to the opinion of their fellow-creatures, are dead even to the homage lavished on them by the vicious, who weary them with their adulation; are callous to the voice of society, which they despise, to popular censures, which they consider as beneath them; "*erubescere nescierunt;*" virtue or vice, esteem or opprobrium, the happiness or the calamities of the public, are alike indifferent to them: a species of torpor this most fatal to a nation, or rather, an apathy of mind, which characterises every people, satiated with pleasures, luxury, fashions, and that are hastening to their dissolution.*"

* Ibid. p. 46.

The archbishop, rather impatient, terminated this conference by saying, that he professed very different opinions, and that he did not approve of mine being made public: he suffered me, however, to leave Paris, and go to Montpellier, but appointed a panegyrist, whose morals better suited the times and institutions of Languedoc, to deliver the discourse on the opening of the states. I caused mine to be printed in March 1784; but not without some difficulty, on account of the objections on the part of the literary censors; nor should I have succeeded at last, had it not been for the kindness of M. de Sauvigny, censor of the police, who was so good as to answer for the consequences. The abbé Mably was the only one, who set any value on it, and did not consider it in the light of a romance; as the abbé Fontenay, and the abbé Aubert did, who analized several parts of it. The other journalists treated it in the manner the archbishop of Toulouse had done before them. The abbé Mably one day said in my hearing: "*He has painted truly the insignificance of the great, which will ultimately prove the ruin of our country.*"

CHAP. XIII.

Portrait of Cardinal de Brienne, drawn by himself, and extracted from his Manuscript Memoirs—He refutes the Author of the Memoirs of Marshal Richelieu, on the Subject of his retiring from Office and receiving the Cardinal's Hat—He sets forth, that the Austrian Ambassador is the intermediate Author of his Removal, and of Mr. Necker's Promotion—Portrait of the Queen and her Favourites, by the Ex-minister, Cardinal de Brienne—Portrait of Mr. Necker—Lewis XVIth's Opinion of the Genevese Minister—Anecdotes on his second Elevation.

THE archbishop of Toulouse is not sufficiently known in this work by the simple narrative of his administration, and the preceding dialogue. I must introduce him, as he appears in his own writings, some of which are in my possession. I owe it both to him and to myself, to publish the account he gives in his own private memoirs, of his quitting the ministry, and of his nomination to the dignity of cardinal*.

* On the faith of Plunket, doctor of Navarre, of Guettard, member of the academy of sciences, I published in Richlieu's memoirs, that M. de Brienne had begged on his knees, in 1752, the doctors of the Sorbonne not to ruin him, for having maintained his famous thesis, which was considered as leaning towards materiality. On the assurance

"The abbé Soulavie, author of Richelieu's Memoirs, says, that I took a great deal of trouble to prevent the effects of this impeachment, and that I fell on my knees to some of the doctors of the Sorbonne, in order to obtain their indulgence. I have never fallen on my knees to any person, not even on occasions when the most impudent of mankind would not blush to do so. He also says, that I threw myself at Lewis XVIth's feet, that I might remain in office; and that I had proposed to the king, at the same time, to exchange the state bills he had adopted. M. de Charost declares the same thing, in his Memoirs; but neither M. de Charost nor M. Soulavie are well-informed. I was far from wishing to continue in office; I was far from changing any measure

of M. de Charost, I stated, that he had been surprised in that situation, in 1788, before Lewis XVI., intreating him to grant him time to arrange the affair of the bills, with which he paid the state creditors in August. I stated the causes of his nomination to the dignity of primate of the Church, which I attributed to the services he had rendered the house of Austria. I have by no means changed my opinion. The authority of M. M. Plunket, Guettard, and Charost, was well calculated to convince me: a judge would not readily reject such testimony. I owe it, however, to M. de Brienne's memory, and to justice itself, to insert in these memoirs, the passage he appears to have written in answer to what I thought myself justified in publishing at the time.

I had planned: I will state the facts as they occurred.

"At the beginning of August, 1781, M. Gojard came to acquaint me, that the royal treasury was empty. Now so early as the month of January, I had desired him to provide for that period. I had desired M. Lambert also, the comptroller-general, who pointed out, to me, however, neither ways nor means, and the first only proposed such as had already been exhausted. Messrs. Lenormand and La Balue were left without any resource. It was, perhaps, on their part, and that of M. Gojard, for the purpose of deceiving me, that the information reached me so late. I did not inquire into the reasons of their conduct and though M. Gojard has since been appointed treasurer to the count d'Artois, I always thought him an honest man, and never suspected him.

"Perhaps it may be asked, as that silly counsellor in parliament asked, who impeached me: *Why, in my account, I had announced an overplus in the receipt to the expenditure, when, on the contrary, I found a deficiency from the month of August?* The reply is obvious: the receipt was well calculated as well as the expenditure; but the receipt is supposed to be real, whereas to make it so, 240 millions were wanting in advance to defray the charges. Calonne had carried the sum still farther. I could only

reduce it to this. Thus it was necessary to find these 240 millions among the bankers and money-lenders. They failed in their agreement, either through real necessity, or through want of inclination, or, in fine, through the cabal by which they were supported. Such was the reason of the deficiency in the month of August. The calculations were correct; but the income was anticipated, and the supplies were no longer furnished.

"This distressed state of the finances was one of the means on which the friends of the parliament depended the most for being recalled to their primitive functions in the state.

"I ought to mention that, at the same time, the count d'Artois sent for me to propose this measure to me: I also received the same proposal of an accommodation from the magistrates, and the opposite parties. My own disposition is mild and conciliatory, but I thought the king ought not to have yielded. I was deaf to every proposition that required sacrifices, which appeared unreasonable; moreover, my opinion was, as is implied in all the king's answers, that sacrifices should be made to the nation at large, and not to particular corporations, whom I always considered as the enemies of the nation, as the usurpers of its rights, thinking and acting solely for their private interest, and, in fact, the very

scourges of a good government. I then determined on the measure I should adopt, and said to myself, 'I must come to a conclusion, and no longer oppose the convocation of the states-general. Probably their being announced will calm the general anxiety with respect to the parliaments. The period being named, will render the *plenary court* useless, which, from a misconception of the measure, has occasioned so much resentment.' Whatever has been effected for the formation of the judicial code, is so advantageous, so strictly just, that the states-general would rather add to, than take away from it; but though we must assemble the states, and no longer think of the delay, which I formerly proposed, with a view of rendering them of greater utility, and of preparing the public mind for that event; we must likewise not neglect to replenish the royal treasury, and that in such a manner, as to be independent of every fortuitous circumstance. To replenish it so as not only to supply the expenses of the current year, but also those of the following, during the whole of which the states will hold their sittings, that they may have full leisure duly to examine every circumstance, and determine on the ultimate remedy, without being hurried and pressed for time.

"The only means to attain that end was by a loan; but the indifferent state of credit, and the

unfavourable disposition of the public, who took pleasure in increasing the distresses of government, instead of assisting it, rendered a voluntary loan impossible. Could that have been effected, the payments would have taken place, and other measures have been unnecessary. I consequently felt, that recourse must be had to a forced loan, which was executed by discharging a part of the public expenditure by bills. Had this measure been separated from the convocation of the states-general, it would not have been proposed, as there would have been no certainty of their being paid. But the meeting of the states would render the reimbursement infallible; their estimate would consequently be somewhat greater, and I should have found several ways of preventing it from lessening.

" This measure had the advantage of filling the royal coffers, as I have already said, for the intire year the states should be assembled. I was inclined to defer them no longer, as the loan and the states were inseparable, and would mutually assist each other.

" I had already made some preparations for the states. Rheims was the place appointed for the meeting; the king was to reside at Saint Thierry. In fine, a part of the arrangements was agreed to and begun.

" I will further add, that there may remain no

doubt respecting the sincerity of my intention of opening the states the following May, as had been announced in the decree of council, that I had endeavoured to gain intelligence concerning the manner of their being convened, (not from a new assembly of notables, composed of privileged persons, whose characters I well knew, and who, in assembling, could not fail to harbour an unfavourable disposition towards the *tiers etat*, and were therefore dangerous,) but from the provincial assemblies, which, being composed as I wished the states to be, and voting as I wished them to vote, could have no interest in withholding their advice, or in raising difficulties.

"Hence it must be perceived, that my wish was for a representation doubling the *tiers*, and debating separately; principles I had admitted into provincial assemblies, and was desirous of admitting into all the provincial states that were to be established. My views even extended so far as to attempt the establishment of as many of these provincial states as possible. Those of Dauphiné were agreed to; and their establishment, which took place after my departure from office, was precisely as I had arranged it. Franche Comté was on the point of following the same measures, and I flattered myself with conquering the resistance of the nobility. Normandy was in motion. One part of the kingdom would have been erected into

provincial states, on the plan of provincial assemblies, having a double representation, and debating separately. They would have nominated their deputies; the elections by bailiwicks would not have taken place; the rest of the provinces would have been forced to conform; Bretany alone, which it has been impossible to conquer, might have held out; but that would have been passed over, as it has been; for it must be acknowledged, that the nobility of Bretany are such slaves to prejudices and prepossessions, and so obstinate in their resolves, that nothing but troubles and resistance could be expected from them.

"I have just stated my views respecting the convening the states, and the mode of supplying the royal coffers. I was not ignorant that the bills would at first have a degree of credit attached to them, but as I have already said, I had a way of diminishing that. With the states, they would have intirely ceased. Till their opening, we should have been in the situation of proposing useless loans, to which nobody would subscribe. There would now be no further need to have recourse to anticipations, which would have been, and ever will be the ruin of the state. In a word, there existed no other measure. All the palliatives that have been adopted since, have proved but so many trials of skill, which have only increased the distress and embarrassment of the government;

and since, after a variety of attempts equally uncertain and desperate, the states themselves have been obliged to have recourse to paper, it was not so absurd as many persons have imagined, to apply the remedy before the malady had attained its height, and when too it was politic to prevent its excess. I will even add, that the clamours excited by the council's decreeing, that a part of the expenditure should be paid in paper, was chiefly occasioned by the fear which many persons entertained, that the government, acquiring the power, by this means, of supplying its expenses without the assistance of the bankers, would not keep to its intention, as it ought to do, and support the measures begun by the parliaments. All the members of the halls of justice, the nobles, the clergy who had declared in their favour, apprehended, that their aim would be defeated, should the finances experience for a time no embarrassment; and this fear contributed greatly to the fall of the bills, which, however, rose before my resigning, and in the course of a fortnight, would certainly have risen considerably higher.

"However that may have been, this decree of the council, joined to the clamour it excited, was all in favour of my enemies, and furnished them with a pretext for calumniating me to the king and queen. At the head of these enemies stood

the count d'Artois, urged on by Calonne and his partisans, the Polignacs, the Vaudreuils, and all this numerous class of favourites, who considered the public treasury as an exhaustless spring, from whence they might draw when they pleased *.

"The count d'Artois, after having first animated me against the parliaments, had suddenly, as I have remarked, turned to their side; he observed, with uneasiness, that I refused to lend my aid towards the repairing of his finances, that were in a still more ruinous situation, if possible, than those of the state. The Polignacs felt resentment against me for having deprived them of the post-office, and they saw that it would quickly be the same with the mastership of the horse. Their insatiable avarice was not satisfied with all that Calonne had been able to obtain for them. The duke of Polignac had even the turpitude to propose to me, the king's taking on himself M. de Vaudreuil's *debts*, for whom Calonne had already *extorted nine hundred thousand livres from the king* †, taking for security his estates in America,

* The cardinal de Brienne had erased the end of this sentence, and substituted the following: *from which I would not suffer them to draw.* History, it is true, cannot accuse this prelate of plundering the treasury, as so many other ministers have done.

† The manuscript says, "from whom Calonne had already given him nine hundred thousand livres." The cardinal changed this sentence, and wrote the above in its stead.

of which he left him the enjoyment. All this famished tribe well knew, that I would never supply their avarice. Privileged persons of all sorts were convinced, that I detested privileges, and that I sincerely hoped the states would annul them all. Consequently they were very impatient to remove me, and therefore imposed this duty on the count d'Artois, even representing to him that the time was come for him to play his part, since his brother's friendship put it in his power. It was no difficult task to persuade a young prince to adopt a measure, from which they taught him to expect wealth to gratify his inclinations, and authority to satisfy the wishes of his friends and dependents.

"As soon as the decree of the council appeared, the count d'Artois began to employ his power against me; and on that subject not the least doubt remains, from what the queen herself said to me. It was not very difficult to dishearten me; for, so far from throwing myself at the king's feet to remain in the administration, I had frequently spoken to him of my resignation; and the reason of my continuing was, because there would have been a species of shame and cowardice, at a time when I enjoyed his confidence, to abandon him in the critical state of his affairs, and retire loaded with his favours, when honour compelled me to stay and share his embarrassment.

"This ceased as soon as I found his confidence withdrawn from me; and I might then without blame pursue my own plan. The following day therefore, after the decree appeared, and the queen shewed some uncertainty as to my situation in regard to the finances, even though I should consent to the sending for Mr. Necker, pretending at the same time, that I should still remain at the head of the ministry, as before, I penetrated her meaning, I took my resolution, and exerted myself sincerely to effect his appointment. I even did not stop there: I proposed it to the king, who expressed a great degree of repugnance to the measure: he had refused his consent when I was first appointed to the ministry, and told me, that he had named me purposely to keep him at a distance; that he liked neither his principles nor manners; that he suspected his fidelity; and yet in the present instance, from his great confidence in me, he observed, that as I thought it necessary, he gave his consent, and left me the liberty of following my own plan, on condition that I did not forsake him.

"I then employed M. de Mercy to speak to Mr. Necker. I the more willingly made use of that gentleman's agency, because I knew that it would be agreeable to the queen; and that he would undertake the commission with pleasure; and such was the weakness of the king's charac-

ter, that he wished, notwithstanding his aversion to him, that Mr. Necker should believe that he desired his return.

"The latter, gratified at being recalled, at first however declined it. He told M. de Mercy, that under a minister who, like myself, had lost the public confidence, he could be of no service. I did not chuse that Mr. Necker, whose ambition I well knew, should stipulate conditions for the king, and I requested M. de Mercy to insist that he should not make any. I was very willing to resign, but not that Mr. Necker should dismiss me.

"The queen's wish of recalling Mr. Necker, was not the effect merely of M. de Mercy's suggestion, or the desire she had of promoting it, thinking the public favour rendered it necessary; she was governed by the hope of preventing the power and influence of the count d'Artois, who was averse to Mr. Necker's return, fearing him almost as much as he did me. * * *

* * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

During this negociation with Mr. Necker, that prince was not idle in misrepresenting me to the king. He gained his point chiefly in raising his apprehensions on account of the disturbances of Paris, and by persuading him even that my life was in danger.

"I had an opportunity of remarking it on the

Saturday and Sunday, as well in the council, as in the department of my office. I no longer found that ease and cordiality in the king that were usual to him; and I only waited for Mr. Necker's reply to execute the plan I had formed. The king was at a loss how to act. He thought he ought to remove me, but it was with regret, and without withdrawing his confidence. On Monday the answer arrived. M. de Mercy came at about half past nine, and informed me, that Mr. Necker consented *without any condition*, and asked leave to pay his respects the following day to the queen, on whom he entirely depended * * *

* * * * * * * * *

"This was all I wished for the glory of the monarch; with whom I would never agree that Mr. Necker should impose conditions, and I replied to M. de Mercy: '*This is as it should be;* I will immediately carry the intelligence to the king, and ask his permission to resign.' M. de Mercy approved of my intention, and confirmed me the more in it, as, from what he said, I judged that it was the queen's wish; for he added (what was afterwards offered me) that I ought then to be made a cardinal, and reinstated in my office in happier times. I went to the king's apartment, and informed him, that Mr. Necker consented to return; and, as I could no longer be of

service to him, as probably my presence would disturb the new minister, I requested his permission to retire. The monarch answered with a little embarrassment: "Go to the queen, she will talk to you on the subject." I consequently attended her majesty; she was at her toilet; I repeated nearly the same words, and by her replies, I perceived, though I knew not what it was, that there was something more in the business than appeared. In short, as we had both the same object in view, my resignation, we understood each other without being very explicit. She made me an offer of a cardinal's hat, and whatever else I should desire, adding, that she parted from me with the deepest regret; she wept at its being necessary, and permitted me to embrace her, as a proof of her sorrow and regard. I accepted, therefore, the cardinalship, requested that the abbé de Loménie might be my coadjutor, and obtained the promise of one of the first places in the queen's household for my niece. It was agreed, that I should give in my resignation the same evening, that M. de Montmorin should write to Rome, that the archbishop of Lyons should settle the coadjutorship, and that the same night I should receive the promise of the place. I went home contented, more happy in having resigned, than in the favours that accompanied my resignation, personally affecting as they were; and I

candidly acknowledge that they were sensibly felt by me, and really contributed to my felicity.

" As soon as I arrived at my house, I understood, that the queen had written to the abbé Vermont, to desire me to demand my dismission, and I then comprehended, what I had not before been able to guess. She thought that I came in consequence of her letter, while, on the contrary, it was from the mere impulse of my own mind; so that it may be said with equal truth, both *that I resigned, and that I was dismissed.* The one is not less true than the other; but at all events, I was far from desiring to remain, and sought no means for that purpose.

" In the evening every thing was accomplished according to the agreement. I received both from the king and queen testimonies of regard, which are not usually shewn to a disgraced minister. That is not all, they sent Mr. Necker to me the following day. Two days after I saw him again. They applied to me to chuse a minister: I mentioned one, (M. Duchâtelet) who declined it; and I could not forbear saying to them: *It is not common to see an ancient minister thus consulted.* They replied: *That is because it is not common to find one so worthy of confidence.* I state all these circumstances with minuteness to prove, how very far I was from

wishing to remain in the administration; and also to shew, how easy it probably would have been for me to remain, had I wished it. But as long as the king did not disapprove of my conduct, my desires were completed. The ministry was an office of pain, not of gratification to me. Happy all my life before, I ceased being so from the time I resided at Versailles. For upwards of three weeks sleep had fled far from my pillow. I endeavoured to do good, sincerely endeavoured, *but my disposition was not formed* for times of storms and turbulence; to withdraw from them was pleasure to me, and all my regret was, that I had ever engaged in them."

It is certain that the archbishop found many powerful obstacles against his doing good. In the clergy, zealous molinists and jansenists; at court, a faction of devotees, at the head of which were the king's aunts, and the cabal of favorites detested him. It is but just also to preserve to M. de Brienne's memory, the merit, as yet secret and unknown, of having struggled against this last party, so powerful in intrigues, who plunged both the queen and the state into ruin; of having obliged them to emigrate for a time during the sitting of the notables, and of depriving them of their posts. In the parliament, the archbishop of Toulouse had to contend with the ancient prejudices which the magistracy had imbibed

against all M. Turgot's party. Lastly, he had to struggle against the duke of Orlean's faction, which was daily gaining strength. M. de Loménie had besides a system of reform in view; he sincerely desired the good of the state; and in this sense he was an enemy to the courtiers: he had employed himself with much ardour in rendering Languedoc rich, prosperous, and flourishing; and though he should have simply approved the labours of the syndics of the province, still was there great merit in desiring the advancement of plans, intended for the general good. In fine, M. de Brienne has the merit of having greatly improved education. I will not stop to attempt refuting what some persons have thought proper to advance on the subject of his dilapidations: he is, perhaps, in this respect, the most correct of our ministers. The contrary opinion, which however gained no confidence, was a calumny. In the Memoirs of Marshal Richelieu, vol. ix. page 437, I wrote as follows: "It was M. de Vergennes, who, during his ministry, kept at a distance Loménie, archbishop of Toulouse, the pupil of Choiseul, the queen's favourite, and the friend of the artful and intriguing abbé Vermont, who at length advanced him to the ministry. What had the archbishop of Sens done to entitle him to a cardinal's hat and the sanction of the court of Vienna, to degrade de Vergennes' administration,

to sell some part of the ministry to the queen's brother? What he did, will be the subject of a chapter in the memoirs of Lewis XVI."

This sentence giving the archbishop of Sens some uneasiness, he sent me word by ———, that he intended to reply to the duke of Charost's memoirs, and to the two phrases above quoted from mine: he added, that his answer would be interesting to the annals of that age. This extract from his memoirs, is in fact one of the most curious monuments of the secret history of France just before the revolution. It proves, and it is a man in the queen's faction, an ocular witness who speaks, that Maria Antoinetta had bent Lewis XVI. to her will, and degraded the nation even to employing the ambassador of the house of Austria in the direction of the general concerns of France. It is no longer Lewis who appoints or dismisses his ministers. The ambassador of Joseph II. determines their fall; promises a cardinal's hat, and a return to the ministry at a future period. The king suspects Mr. Necker's fidelity; he dislikes his manners: the queen and M. de Mercy appoint him to succeed the archbishop of Sens, and the king agrees to it. In giving his sanction to this measure he fears lest Mr. Necker should be acquainted with his real opinion; and the Austrian ambassador degrades his dignity so far as to become a negotia-

tor between the minister he removes, and the minister he recals. Consequently, the queen punctually followed, in 1788, the instructions she had received from Maria Theresa in 1771.

What is very remarkable on this occasion, is, that England was in rivalship with Austria, employing the same intrigues in the French court to govern the nation. The cabinet of St. James's had sent as ambassador to France, a man of such artful and specious manners, that he found the means of insinuating himself into the good graces of the queen, and even gained the reputation of being her lover. Never before had any foreign ambassdor established his residence as he did at Versailles. Lewis XVI. made it his usual place of abode, partly to avoid the intrusive curiosity of foreign ambassadors; frequent visits were only granted to family ambassadors; while the duke of Dorset had fixed himself in the very bosom of the court, never quitting the Polignacs, whose house was become the central point of intrigue. The duke went only once a week to Paris, to send off his dispatches; and the same day returned to Versailles, kindling into the bosom of the court and state the flames of discord, and accelerating by these stratagems the motions of the revolution. The following anecdote is a proof of his skill in this way.

The abbé de Saint Farre, son of the late duke of Orleans, wishing to obtain an inferior benefice

near Raincy, solicited the duchess of Orleans to ask it of the queen, the source of all favours. The duchess of Orleans, not chusing on this occasion to hazard a refusal, addressed herself to the duke of Dorset, who at that period enjoyed the greatest influence. The ambassador promised an answer, and the following is what he said on the occasion to the duchess of Orleans and her son. "You wish to know the queen's answer. You desire to hear it: I will inform you of it. She charged me to do so. She replied, decisively respecting the benefice, that as long as she was queen of France, whoever was in any manner related to the house of Orleans had no favour to expect from the court."

This fatal answer was like a thunderbolt. Its effect on the duke of Orleans, who had refused to ask for the benefice, and on his family, may be easily conceived by all those who know the tendency of an exclusion of this nature from every favour in the government. Some time before, the marquis Ducrest, who had introduced the greatest order into the finances of the duke of Orleans, had published an address, in which he laid down plans for filling up the national deficit: it was thought by many, that this chief financial director of the first prince of the blood, pointed himself out as one capable of repairing the evils of the state. It was reported, that he persuaded the king to withdraw

the two taxes; and that he threatened him with a general insurrection, if he continued to repose a confidence in Loménie and Lamoignon. He advised the king to suppress *lettres de cachet*, to destroy the Bastille, and to institute a council at the head of each department, as was done in the reign of king Philip.

This memorial of the chancellor of the duke of Orleans, appearing on the present occasion, raised the greatest alarm in the ministry; the court desired the marquis Ducrest's dismission. He invited the nobles to do of their own accord, and in an amicable manner, that which the jacobins have since effected during the first years of the revolution. Some time after, the court seemed reconciled to the duke of Orleans, who's popularity was augmenting daily, and he was brought to believe, that there was an intention to marry his daughter to the duke of Angoulême. This treaty was carried so far, that the queen, who had intended her own daughter for the young duke, even gave her consent to the nuptials of the duke of Angoulême and mademoiselle d'Orleans. The duke of Orleans, the duchess, the young princess their daughter, madame de Genlis her *gouverneur en titre*, went to Versailles to pay the customary visits, and be presented in consequence to the duke of Angoulême. The young prince, informed of the whole affair, feeling the difference between an alliance with

mademoiselle d'Orleans, and that he had been promised with the daughter of Lewis XVI., received the whole family of the Orleans with a degree of haughtiness as unexpected as it was inconceivable. Madame de Genlis, who was herself confounded at it, could not forbear saying as she came out, before a nobleman who related to me the anecdote; "The duke of Angoulême has received us with the haughtiness of Lewis XIV." There seemed a good and evil genius constantly hovering about the court, whose sole delight was the counteracting each others designs, alternately imbroiling and reconciling the two houses: each fresh attempt at advancing nearer, carried them back to a prodigious distance, exciting their respective partisans to mutual insult and repeated shocks, which accelerated the revolution.

CHAP. XIV.

State of the Human Understanding in France, just before the Revolution—Multiplicity of Mesmer's Sect—The Somnambulists—Their Conversations and Amusements with Cæsar, Henry IVth. Semiramis, Sappho, &c.

THE great men of the state, who vied with each other in studying the doctrine of Mesmer, had formed many schisms in the school of that German. The queen, who had patronised his system, who had committed the cure of the duchess of Chaulerns, to the doctor's care, suddenly withdrew her favour from him. That princess was shewn several letters from women, who, under the power of his magnetism, had accused her of gallantry; of pillaging the royal treasury, in favour of Joseph II. and of having poisoned the count de Vergennes. The queen's dislike to the French people had rendered her credulous, and M. de Breteuil made a merit of persecuting the Mesmerists, and all those who were of the queen's party seconded him. Besides this, among the chiefs of this sect were some who formed factions against the court: Bergasse, Espréménil, and the duke of Orleans forsook the cradle of Mesmerism, hired an hotel,

and under the pretext of animal magnetism, employed themselves in magnetising the monarchy. The foreign ambassadors, curious, as the diplomatic corps usually are, insinuated themselves into these lodges, and gave the alarm to government.

Among the number of adepts, was a man of simple manners, whose heart was as much the seat of probity, as his mind was of enthusiasm in favour of the new doctrine. I allude to father Hervier, with whom I was well acquainted, and who had practised magnetism at Bourdeaux while he preached there during Lent. At Paris the sect was divided into prophets and somnambulists. I have heard father Hervier himself declare, that these singular persons, during their paroxysms and crisises, spoke different languages like the apostles of old, divined the present and the future, discovered the source of maladies, effected their cure, and predicted political events. Father Hervier pretended, that possessed persons, lunatics, those who fell into convulsions at Saint Medard, the sybils, all oracles, visions, transfigurations, the holy extasies of the saints, that all these were the true effects of somnambulism, the theory of which was known to the sect of Mesmer. The most brilliant understandings of the capital, by studying these theories, soon fell into the belief, that the Mesmerists in reality were possessed of the gifts

of foreknowledge, divination, prevision and a plurality of tongues.

If the *illuminés* of this sect had confined themselves to mysterious and intellectual science, their reveries would not have merited the animadversion of history; but this school, by separating itself into a variety of secondary sects, quitted their intellectual essences to descend to sensitive matter. It was thought very amusing to inflame the imagination of the great to such a degree, as to persuade them they were supping and conversing with Henry IV. or Lewis XIV. An old court debauchee found it very agreeable to pass his time with Semiramis, Cleopatra, Sappho, or Julia, and to sleep with them. A duchess was delighted to find herself amused every night by Alexander, or Cæsar. It is needless to add, that these personages, male and female, were the Julias and Alexanders of the Palais Royal.

Thus we see, that the eve of the revolution was marked by the most singular reveries of the imagination. The most incredible of the whole, is to have lived, and conversed with rational beings, more distinguished by their birth and education, [illegible] suffering themselves to be the dupes of such strange impostors. The late king of Prussia had his understanding so warped and his imagination so inflamed by them, when he was prince royal, that it has been said, that the great

Frederic engaged the count de Mirabeau to write his pamphlet on Cagliostro and Lavater purely on his account. Prince Henry, equally afflicted at his nephew's folly, introduced the marquis of Luchet into some of these sects in Germany, who wrote a treatise on the *illuminés*, to unmask them to the prince royal.

In France some of the most distinguished names are to be found in the lists of those devoted to and patronising the doctrines of Mesmer. Among this number were Monsieur, the duke of Orleans, and the duchess of Bourbon.

Among the class of physicians Deslon, and several more of great repute.

Among the persons in office, prelates, magistrates, the count de Maurepas, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, Court-de-Gebelin, Bergasse, d'Espréménil, the marquis of Jaucourt, the duchess of Chaulnes, M. de Puy-Segur, and many others, who publickly professed a violent partiality for this doctrine.

Thus it is evident that the mind of the French nation was imperceptibly prepared by these impostors, for the fatal change which its enemies intended to effect in the government.

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

EIGHTH EPOCH.

Second Administration of MR. NECKER, *or Fall of the French Monarchy.*

Mr. Necker was no longer the man the times demanded. Little skilled in politics, his writings could only boast of sense, eloquence, and morality. His self-love led him to believe, that, as his intentions were good, his measures would have no obstacles to surmount; and that he should become the respected guide of the states-general, as he already was the oracle of the society who surrounded him.

SEGUR, vol. ii. page 45.

CHAP. I.

Picture of the Political State of the Nation at the Period of Mr. Necker's Appointment to the Ministry, in August, 1788.—The Nobility, Clergy, Parliament, the State-Countries, and the Tiers Etat unanimously leagued against the Queen, the Favourites, the Deficit, and the Abuses of the ancient Regime.—The Promise of the States-General, and the Dismission of Loménie and Lamoignon moderate this Insurrection—Mr. Necker brings forward the Tiers Etats in Opposition to the preceding Insurrection—He transforms them into a Legislative Power, and by augmenting their relative Force, destroys that of the Monarchy.

THE French nation, since the time of Pharamond, had never offered a more affecting and sublime spectacle, than that of the unanimous reunion of every mind, every opinion, every age, every order in the state, in 1788, against the arbitrary will and dilapidation of the court.

Liberty had attained its greatest legitimate height. The royal authority had been compelled, by means of intreaties and remonstrances, and by the forcible arguments of reason, to remove Calonne, Loménie, and Lamoignon, the instruments of its excesses, and to convene the states-general.

At this memorable era, the clergy were seen to forget their ancient acrimony against the par-

liament; and support it with their influence, in its distressed situation. The peers of France joined the magistracy, and almost all the great forsook the interest of the court. All the orders of the state vied with each other in giving their assistance to those who were the greatest sufferers in the common cause, the exiled parliaments, for having refused to fill up the scandalous and mysterious deficit of an hundred and fifty millions.

The state-countries, situated in the three opposite sides of the kingdom, in Bretany, Dauphiné, and Bearn, acting in concert from the extremities of France, determined to maintain a mutual resistance. The other provinces, subjected to intendants, and deprived of their administration, obliged the government to reinstate them. The nobility, both of the court, the capital, and the provinces, no longer remembered that the monarch was the only source of favours, when it was necessary to unite against him to secure the common rights of their country. In short, the troops in the provinces refused to execute the martial laws. Never did any nation cherish more unanimous sentiments. Each order in the state divested itself of some of its prerogatives: each order renounced some partial privilege for the good of the whole; and all deprive the king of the pernicious power of thenceforward permitting deficits of hundreds of millions, and the queen that of taking advantage

of his weakness. The resentment against the favourite was general; against the shameful treaty concluded with England to the prejudice of our most valuable manufactures; against the ambition of the house of Austria, whom we have observed so powerful in our cabinet. After the deficit of an hundred millions, after the fall of the public credit, the nation found herself too impotent to sustain another war. Animated with one unanimous sentiment, she determined to free herself from this situation.

Meanwhile, this sentiment, truly national, was neither malignant, eventful, nor dangerous to the established authority. The king had no sooner promised the states-general, dismissed Loménie and Lamoignon, acknowledged the illegality of the taxes sanctioned by the parliaments, recalled the magistrative body, exiled and suspended from its functions, received the fifty Bretons, given the twelve their liberty, and ordered those measures that proved the repentance of the court, than the nation suddenly and spontaneously returned to its allegiance. The sentimental cry of *Vive le roi*, which the French during two years had not pronounced, was once more reiterated with tenderness and joy. The queen alone was deprived of their esteem, and she never recovered it.

Such was the state of the nation, in the month

of August, 1788, at the era of Mr. Necker's fatal return.

Had the king intrusted his own and the national destiny to a few prudent persons, who were the friends of the state; had he intrusted them to some notable individuals, chosen from the orders who had given such striking proofs of their ability and patriotism, by their conduct in the opposition, during the years 1787 and 1788, there is no doubt that the constitution of the ancient French monarchy might have been improved at the states-general. Methinks, I contemplate in idea, the above-named bodies of men, united to favour the universality of the imposts established on all lands throughout the kingdom; annulling the *lettres de cachet*, assigning the court a civil list, tolerating all religious worship, and granting liberty to the press, and to mankind. Already were all these blessings ours, and we should have enjoyed them in peace, had not Mr. Necker adopted measures which deprived us of them altogether.

Mr. Necker, whom the court had recalled to find them cash instead of the paper invented by M. de Lomenie, had not forgotten that, having before been kept away from the council, he had suffered some mortification from M. de Vergennes and M. de Maurepas. He might consequently expect still to find, in the bosom of that council,

some insurmountable obstacle; yet not only did he aspire to a place in this council of state, which was granted him from the very commencement of his second ministry, but he laboured besides to draw within the sphere of his department, what related to the composition of the states-general, and the reformation of the empire at large.

It must have appeared ridiculous to all peaceful and rational minds to see a foreigner, a comptroler of the finances, wishing and daring to assign to his office, questions relative to the composition of the states. Mr. Necker formed one division in his department; and he confided its management to the two Costers. Happy would it have been, had he listened to the advice which the eldest of them, a man of wisdom and prudence, was incessantly giving him.

Usurping to himself those concerns which related to the composition of the states-general, he began by degrading the first orders. We have already shewn, how in the month of August, 1788, they gave the greatest example of generosity and patriotism; how they had repressed the arbitrary commands of the court. In four short months the whole was forgotten. A terrific word was created, that of *aristocrat*, and employed against them. The *tiers-etat*, who had as yet no part in the affairs of state, was now called into action. Mr.

Necker invented political questions; he protected the treatises and pamphlets which began to appear on his appointment to the administration, and which gradually led the way to the social disorganization of the government.

If the admission of the people was at any time thought of, before the period of Mr. Necker's return to the ministry, it was to admire its harmony in the state-countries with the first orders. The real public opinion had been found uniform, unanimous, and regularly distributed among every rank of society, and every order of the state. In that resided, in reality, the national opinion, which, to become universal, nothing was wanting but the concurrence of the queen and the favourites, against whom alone its resentment had been directed; for the king had always been an object both of love and esteem. Mr. Necker, by devoting himself solely to this mass of different objects, all united by a single clue, might have directed it with ease to the same end; while, on the contrary, by blowing the fire of discord, by exciting the populace against the privileged orders, at the very moment of heroic opposition on their side, and by creating terms of opprobium, he annihilated the patriotic activity established, though every rank, to create an exclusive one in the *tiers-état*. With regard to the finances, he had already misplaced the credit of the monarchy,

by removing it from the direction of those bodies which constituted the higher finance, to put it into the hands of bankers: now, he misplaced the national patriotism, and by giving a new turn to the real reforming system, and changing the nature of the national opposition, he prepared, not a reform, but an overthrow; not an opposition, but a social revolution.

Odious to the high nobility and the clergy of France, from his first administration; suspecting these two orders of the state; from his birth imbibing prejudices against all our institutions, he had found the provinces administered by an heterogeneous authority, composed of intendants and state-provinces; and he wished to see them all subject to one uniform government.

Yet the uniformity of the parliamentary constitution, rising in concert against the court in 1787 and 1788, had proved to him, what *uniformity* in the constituted authorities against the government was capable of effecting.

On the other side, Bretany had taught him, that the administrative authority being divided among all its nobles, the states of that province were at all times turbulent and democratic, even in the bosom of the nobility, and to so great a degree, as to prevent the undertaking any grand object in that province, even the improvement of the high roads. Yet he determined to

constitute in the states-general a chamber of nobility, intirely democratic in its principles, resembling the constitution of the Breton nobility.

In Languedoc, the nobility being represented only by some barons, preserved on the contrary the security and order necessary to the flourishing state of that country, which was an object of universal admiration prior to 1789: and it was precisely this organization of the nobility that Mr. Necker was anxious to avoid. He even borrowed from the states of Languedoc the majority relative to the *tiers-état*, which had been instituted there to weaken the influence of the same bishops and barons whose apppointment was permanent; so that he democratised the chamber of the nobility in the states-general, without paying any regard to the two examples in Bretany and Languedoc, which offered such contradictory results, in consequence of their different constitutions.

With respect to the chamber of the clergy, Mr. Necker no doubt professed the calvinistical principles, which had nearly ruined his own country, and desolated Great Britain during a century; for it was the calvinism which he introduced into the chamber of the clergy, that prepared for France those evils, of which the consequences are beyond the reach of human foresight.

Posterity will judge Mr. Necker's measures with great severity, measures which decided the

fate of the royal power in France. By putting it in competition with democracy, Mr. Necker raised up a revolutionary inquiry in the midst of the three orders which he assembled, and he presented it in the form of the following questions:

"Ought the number of deputies of the *tiers-etat* to be equal to that of the two other orders united? Or, should this number compose simply the third part of the assembly?"

What subterfuge was necessary to find a phrase, to envelop the dangers into which this proposition would plunge the monarchy? To have spoken more clearly, Mr. Necker ought to have said, "I design to compose a legislative assembly, that shall take from the prince the power of creating laws; but the two chambers of the nobility and clergy, protectors of authority, will oppose this measure; I will therefore bring forward a popular majority against their relative majority, whence must arise the new organization I have planned."

Mr. Necker observed himself, in his report, that France was divided on this question; that the majority of the notables whom he had consulted was averse to the doubling of the *tiers-etat*; as were likewise the princes of the blood*, the nobility, the clergy, the states of Bretany, of

* Except Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans—They were on the popular side on this occasion.

Burgundy, and of Artois. But the minister observed also, that the minority of the notables, the authority of many individuals, the opinion of the orders of Dauphiné, the constitution of the states of Languedoc, and the silent voice of Europe, favoured his projected measures. With respect however to Europe, it was so evidently averse to the doubling the *tiers*, to form a legislation, that France, after having adopted this system, found herself in a state of violent opposition with all the governments in it. Can any one be ignorant of the vast sums which it costs the government of England to maintain and secure a majority in the lower house, which prevents the recurrence of former revolutions? yet the laws are never established in England, till they have first been sanctioned by both houses, whose members vote separately.

That the love of the people should have established in the heart of Languedoc, and in concerns purely of an administrative nature, a majority of the *tiers-état*, to oppose the barons and bishops, the perpetual hereditary administrators of the province, was no more than what equity seemed to demand. The payment of the impost established on all unprivileged lands was its consequence, as likewise was the preservation of the high-roads without the *corvée*, &c. &c.

But to make a power purely popular, the majority in a national and legislative assembly, was executing calmly and deliberately in France, by order of the king, those fatal scenes of the revolution of England, whose commons having by criminal means freed themselves from the opposition of the nobility and clergy which composed the house of lords, and having annihilated all the monarchical institutions established to repress the popular power, conducted the unfortunate Charles the First to the scaffold, as soon as the natural pillars of the sovereignty were torn away. Thus did Mr. Necker place France in the same situation to which England had been reduced by the first and second scenes of her revolution; so that the only difference between the revolution of England, and that of France in 1789, was, that in the former the institution of a popular majority, and the annihilation of the house of lords, was the consequence of animosities and all the sanguinary and outrageous passions that mark the beginning of a revolution; while, on the contrary, in France, the doubling of the *tiers*, and the destruction of the superior chambers in opposition to the absolute will of the people, were cool and deliberate measures, adopted on reflection by the king himself, who signed, in his council, a conspiracy against the French monarchy.

The monarch, although he was neither deficient in penetration nor sagacity, though he had but a very short time before treated as visionary the dividing the kingdom into municipalities, which had been projected by M. Turgot, though he had removed that minister on account of his reforming speculations; yet had he the inconceivable weakness to abandon his destiny to Mr. Necker, on the vague hope of future and uncertain happiness. He was still king of France in the month of August, 1788, and yet M. Loménie affirms, that he dreaded Mr. Necker to such a degree, as to fear lest that minister should have discovered the prejudice he had before entertained against him. It was in these circumstances that the king granted Mr. Necker's desire, that the states-general should be convened, not to make a reform in the administration, but for a more than Genevese revolution, which deprived the king of all legislative power, which incapacitated the privileged orders, the true supporters of the crown, which transformed into a legislative authority the popular powers, confined by their nature to a concurrence in the law, and which annihilated in France a constitution and a code of laws, which till then had rendered our country the most flourishing state in Europe, to plunge her into a revolution of so fatal a tendency, that, if ever France, after suffer-

ing all the evils that can affect humanity, should really wish to recover that serenity which once procured her so much happiness, and again raise her prosperity on a level with that of the rival and neighbouring nations, who smile at the distressed situation into which they have thrown her, she will be forced to restore to the executive power its ancient initiative faculty of proposing the laws, if not that of enacting them.

But Mr. Necker was so apprehensive of his projected revolution failing, that he employed such forcible measures, and the people whom he clothed with power were so methodically irritated, that this revolution, daily gaining strength, insulted every social institution, instead of gradually leading towards the prosperity Mr. Necker had promised us. Mr. Necker did not stop there, he refuted, in the king's council, whatever the just fears of persons of penetration brought against his favourite system. He expressed his sentiments on the public opinion in his report: "The cause of the *tiers-état*," said he, "will always have the public opinion in its favour. It will constantly be supported both in their conversation and writings. The wish of the *tiers-état*, when it is unanimous, and conformable to the principles of equity, will ever be called the national wish, will be sacred, and the judgment

of Europe will encourage it. I will therefore affirm on my conscience, and as his majesty's faithful servant, it is my decided opinion, that he may and ought to summon to the states-general, a number of deputies from the *tiers-état*, equal in number to the deputies of the orders united; not to carry by force a majority of votes, which seems to be feared, but to satisfy the general wishes of the commons of his kingdom."

It would have been sufficient, however, that the persons of rank in the kingdom, constituting a majority relatively to the *tiers-états*, in the assembly of the notables, should have been resolved to maintain the ancient forms of authority, and should have explained their motives, and enlarged on the misfortunes which probably might ensue from adopting new ones, for Mr. Necker himself, who had granted them his confidence, or had reposed in them a great degree of responsibility, to have perceived, as he must have done, that a popular majority would infallibly destroy that which the notables had endeavoured to prevent their destroying. Reason and experience pointed it out clearly to all unprejudiced minds; but Mr. Necker asked advice which he was predetermined not to follow; and it is precisely from this circumstance that posterity will form its judgment of him.

It is not difficult to conceive that this concatenation of events, which since 1788 have desolated France, must have rendered Mr. Necker the most unhappy of the human race; especially when he recollects the promises he made to the king, to his council, to all France, and even to the nobility, of a permanent state of prosperity, assuring the monarch, that the *tiers-état* would only *point out the multiplied wants of a great people*; assuring the nobility, *that it never would enter the mind of the people to diminish the seignorial or honorary prerogatives of the two privileged orders; these prerogatives being a property as much to be respected as any other.*

The council was composed, in the month of December 1789, of persons, whose memory ought to be preserved, since the monarchy ended, and the revolution began during their ministry.

The duke of Nivernois, a man of understanding and probity, was the most remarkable; but his understanding qualified him rather to shine in company, than in the management of affairs of state.

Bouvard de Fourqueux, a man of equal probity, but timid: he was more clear-sighted in the details of office, than in the grand affairs of the nation.

The count de Luzerne had the spirit of a

courtier, with few of the qualities of a statesman.

The count de Saint Priest was neither deficient in foresight nor in policy, but wanted more appearance of firmness on arduous occasions.

Malesherbes saw his opinions in Mr. Necker's measures: he had besides in his disposition such a fund of good-natured simplicity, and in his principles such a proneness to popular opinions, that he could not fail to approve the system of the times.

Laurent de Villedeuil wished to establish his fortune; and the *faithful* M. de Montmorin to preserve his credit.

None of these ministers possessed either firmness, inclination, or courage sufficient to resist Mr. Necker's resolutions. The king therefore signed the decree of the council, which, by doubling the *tiers-états*, annihilated the means by which the nobility and clergy preserved the royal authority. He signed it contrary to the advice of the princes of the blood, (Monsieur and the duke of Orleans excepted,) contrary to that of the notables, the nobility, the clergy, all the parliaments, but that of Paris, taken by surprise in its delirium, and without the approbation of any, beside the innovators, the state-countries, and provincial assemblies, recently esta-

blished. The minister ended his report, by proposing to the king *the immediate sacrifice of the minister principally concerned in the measure*, if the projects and views intended by it did not succeed according to his hopes.

CHAP. II.

Renumeration of Facts, general Observations and Consequences for the Year 1788, the last of the French Monarchy—Phenomena relative to the Fall of the Monarchy and the Commencement of the Revolution.

IN the course of the year 1788, the last of the monarchy, Europe with astonishment beheld France agitated by three different species of insurrections, which ought particularly to fix the attention of the historians of future ages.

From the establishment of the plenary court till the retreat of Loménie and Lamoignon, we cannot but admire the struggle of all the orders of the state against the new institutions of government. On the contrary, from the moment of Mr. Necker's recal to the administration, and till the period of the second assembly of the notables, the flame of insurrection breaks out and spreads in the *tiers-état*, and the war begins against these very orders of the monarchy, which had combated against and vanquished despotism.

In fine, from the close of the assembly of the notables to the present moment, the resentment of the friends of monarchy against the revolutionists of 1789, has never subsided, and so

profound and well digested were the plans of 1788, that the secret history of them, preserved in the memoirs of Loménie, Malesherbes, &c. cannot be published at present with advantage to the country.

Meanwhile, there are various circumstances resulting from the events of that year; from the preparatory arrangements of Mr. Necker and the tendency of the public mind in 1788, that ought to be capitulated. It results,

1. That in the short space of four months of that year, Mr. Necker had rendered null the reforming system directed against the abuses of the court, and maintained by the great men of the state, by the clergy, the parliament, the state-provinces, men of literature, and the *tiers-état.*

2. It follows, that the patriotism of the privileged and superior orders of the state, was a sentiment so purely disinterested, that the peers were seen to unite in a body to divest themselves of their pecuniary advantages: the parliaments to suffer exile, and be stripped of their functions, rather than abandon the constitution of the state to the arbitrary will of the court: the state-provinces to coalesce, inviting the inhabitants of Dauphiné from their mountains, to aid them to suppress the institutions of Loménie and Lamoignon, or more properly to prevent the increase of the legislative power in the hands of royalty.

3. It followed, that there existed in the organization of ancient France, in the heart of the state, and even by the side of the royal military power, the means of opposition, and sufficient national energy to repress the faults of the executive authority; and in the hearts and minds of Frenchmen, a degree of patriotism and intellectual force sufficient to stop the progress of the military power, and the increase of its abuses.

4. It follows, that the means of opposition were not of a nature so entirely irrelevant as to hinder either the developement of the executive authority without, or the formation of an energetic power within.

5. It follows, that the deficit, carried to an hundred and sixty millions by the administrations anterior to Mr. Necker's, and to fifty millions by Mr. Necker himself, as he asserted in the first assembly of the notables; presented, in the variations of his official proofs, the instrumental and historical certainty, either of the incapacity of former ministers or their duplicity; it was at the time the inchanted wand, with which the anarchists, both in and out of office, intended to desolate France, as she has since been desolated by the interminable chain of constitutions with which they hoped to govern her.

6. It follows, that the scheme of revolutionising France, at a time when the court and all the

orders of the state were in concord, towards the end of 1788; of abolishing privileges, *letters de cachet*, and military authority, and of substituting periodical administrations, and the states-general, was a plan either of treachery or ignorance, particularly when the result of political observation, in the official and diplomatic correspondence, as well as in the secret correspondence of Lewis XV., directed by count Broglio, announced this memorable truth to the king, which I copy from his Memoirs. "England, as to France, is precisely what Rome was as to Carthage between the second and third Punic war;" an observation which struck Lewis XVI. with such alarm, that he commanded the count de Vergennes to examine the grounds of so singular an assertion, from which it followed, that England aimed at the destruction of France, if not by direct means, at least by the more insidious ones of troubles and dissentions. It was therefore a trial of skill, at once rash and disloyal, to place, at such a time, the maintenance of public order and the exterior strength, out of the hands of the government.

7. It follows, that by this tranfer of the authority of the state, which was taken from the ancient orders, that had existed for thousands of years, and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, become, by means of the popular elections, the mere

foot-ball of the passions, a government was instituted in the centre of Europe in direct opposition to all the known powers, a government odious to, and at variance with, that party of Frenchmen, stripped of their ancient functions, and with whom it has since been necessary to account and stipulate, by borrowing several of their errors. Observe the calm security of Europe at this period, when her centre is falling into ruin.

CHAP. III.

Behaviour of the King, who had long perceived the Decline of the Monarchy—Mr. Necker the real founder of Democracy in France—He treats the People of France as a wandering Tribe, who have neither separate Lands to preserve, nor Worship nor Dignities to respect—Novelty in Europe of this singular System—Mr. Necker accomplishes in France the Plans invented by the Genevese Representatives banished from their Country by the Martial Law of M. Vergennes, in 1782, received by England, and sent by her into France to disseminate the Principles of a Revolution.

AT the remarkable epoch of the monarchy of France being changed into a revolutionary government, there were wanting neither authors, nor attentive observers, who predicted the approach of some great event. The combination of facts shewed them to what point Mr. Necker would proceed. The genius of penetration pointed out the precipice to which his erroneous measures were leading the nation; but his party were enraged at these observations, and he repulsed himself, all those who ventured even the most modest remonstrances on the subject, considering

them as gloomy and suspicious persons, *who see every thing on the dark side.*

The king, who had long entertained a presentiment of his misfortune, one day said to Mr. Necker, speaking of public affairs; "*For several years, I have enjoyed only a few momentary intervals of happiness.*" "Yet a little while, sire," replied Mr. Necker, "and you will feel differently;—ALL WILL END WELL."

And yet to what class of citizens had Mr. Necker the temerity to intrust the care of terminating the king's affairs? To what orders of the state did he confide the legislative power, at a time of general delirium, which was partly his own work. This Genevese philosopher, contemning the right of property, and of all social functions, dared to incorporate into one legislative and constituent power the whole body of the French people, giving, by virtue of that power, to all alike an equality of rights. Never before had any government in the universe confided its destiny to so perilous a chance. The distinction of orders and chambers had purposely been invented to prevent such revolutions as those from 1789 to 1793. Mr. Necker, by doubling the *tiers-état*, reduced France to the state of the primordial equality of wandering hordes, who have still a fixed habitation to find, and have neither separate property to preserve, nor national

worship, nor public functions, nor acknowledged dignities to respect. The bishops, comparatively few in number, found themselves soon set aside by a mass of self-elected *curés*, who, from every quarter of the French, nation carried to the states-general their private jealousy, their discontent, their levelling principles, their imaginary wrongs, their irritated poverty, and their various pretentions against the dignified clergy. In the second order of the state, the inferior nobility carried to the national assembly their hatred and jealousies against those of superiour rank, with the hope of humiliating them, and the ambition of establishing a perfect equality. These very *curés* and this nobility, sprung from the inferiour ranks, and who were the nearest to the *tiers-état*, were themselves borne down by an equal number of *roturiers*, determined to extirpate so debasing a term, and to overthrow the privileged orders and the hierarchy.

Never before, from the very first existence of the French nation, had the genius of destruction thus found its way to the head of the ministry. At a time when the nobility were all insolent and all martial, their high rank was still an object of respect: in 1788 they struggled with regal despotism, and Mr. Necker associated them in parity of numbers to the democracy, their implacable foe.

No instance can be found of any republic in Eu-

rope having thus intrusted the care of its divine worship and its legislation to the multitude; and still less to discontented factions, envious of the different orders of the state. No European democracy, except some pastoral tribes inhabiting the High Helvetic Alps, had ever admitted such an equality of rights to exercise the functions of the state; and still less to destroy, reform, and bind up anew the first of the European powers. Could Mr. Necker have been ignorant of, or ought he to have disregarded, the fatal scenes which had desolated his own country, as often has anarchy had attempted to delegate the authority to the multitude? There existed on the whole face of the globe in 1788, only a few individuals, miserable adventurers, a disconcerted and vanquished faction, banished from Geneva in 1782, destitute of a home, and receiving the wages of England, who dared openly to profess the doctrine of the decree of the council of state of the month of December 1788, as to the popular composition of a legislative body. I allude to the faction known by the name of the *Genevan representatives*.

Exiled from their country in 1781, by M. de Vergennes, for having attempted, what Mr. Necker has since accomplished, to delegate an equal share of power to each individual, and for having fettered the government, which protected *the constitutional association of the popular*

and aristocratic interests; refugees in England, where the government patronised and animated every faction that was in enmity to France; become the pensionaries of George IIId.; administrators of a subsidy of fifty millions sterling, exclusively granted by an act of council to this cabal of anarchists; these men, dishonoured by their crimes and revolutionary tumults, hastened to France on the first appearance of a storm, there to practice their fatal doctrine, and teach it to our ignorant constituents. At Geneva, they had been called the *representatives*, from their having frequently made *representations* to the legislative bodies. Now they persuaded the leading revolutionists in France to assume the title of *representatives of the French people.* They carried into the constituent assembly their intriguing influence, and shortly began the revolution they wished to effect. (See the details in the fifth volume of the present work.)

Thus, from the majority of the clergy that were summoned to attend the states-general being composed of that class of the church which had no constitutive claim either from dignity or property, and were truly self-elected; from the minority of the nobility being for the most part composed in like manner of persons destitute of the great prerogatives of their order, and lastly from the *tiers-état* predominating over the whole, the con-

stituted powers were left at the mercy of the constituent powers. The hierarchy of the state was no longer represented: and how could the predominating democracy ably defend the interests and orders which it detested, without first becoming itself *aristocratic*, and thus quitting its popular character?

CHAP. IV.

Exposition of the Democratic Principles which influenced the first Revolutionary Movements in the Months of October, November and December 1788, and prepared Mr. Necker's Report—Exposition of the General Principles disseminated in 1789, and followed since by the different Revolutionary Families—Nature of the Tiers-état according to the Principles of the Times.

THE patriots, who were persuaded that the combination of aristocracy and democracy was necessary, as in England, to insure an equal degree of protection to every class of French citizens, and to all the various interests which naturally clash in a powerful state, became extremely uneasy at the exclusive principles and decisive tone of the popular party.

The French aristocracy had recently maintained a contest against the absolute and military authority of the crown, which had prevented the court from concentrating and organizing its tyrannical forces in the heart of the plenary court. Now, this aristocracy was equally opposed to the establishment of the exclusive and absolute power of the democracy, and from the same principles which it had before employed against

the military power of the crown. Unprejudiced persons clearly saw, that France possessed a constitution, or if you will, a mode of existing, which had enabled the house of Bourbon to become the first power on the continent, though bordering on several formidable and jealous ones. France knew what she had hitherto been; but the monarchy of Mr. Necker's creating was wrapped in the veil of futurity. She had possessed, like Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Austria, Prussia and England, a permanent political structure, and she was now launching into the ocean of chance, without either rudder or compass. We were then, no doubt, mortified at the insolence of the great, at being excluded from offices, subject to *lettres de cachet*, and denied the liberty of the press: state prisons, the remains of servitude, the deficit, religious intolerance, the distinction of the soil into lands esteemed noble and exempt from taxes, and those deemed *roturieres* and therefore subject to their payment, were certainly grievances: but a single command of the monarch would have removed all these oppressions and grievances which had crept in through the lapse of time. The parliament, clergy, and nobility were themselves the first to abolish the greater part of them, in their insurrection of 1787 and 1788.

The existence of these abuses was the plausible pretext for the project of extirpating all the evils of

France. And though this project of universal demolition of all the abuses of a state, is the most absurd imaginable, though it has been attempted with such an aggravation of cruelty since the year 1788, it had been conceived by a great number of persons, whose intentions were not so reprehensible as the event had proved their judgment to have been erroneous. Among the works of this party, was a work intitled, *What is the tiers-état?* which M. Ségur has thought proper to call a pamphlet. Its true title ought to be: *Means of destroying in France, the Ancient Social Constitution; and of eternally revolutionizing, by attempting to reform us.* The author of this work, would neither admit of the absolute power of ancient France, nor the mixed power of the English government, which had acquired a very high reputation. He would not even admit of the confusion of orders in a house of commons, but the simple division of the people into different powers. "The people in France," said he, "are every thing, one single extraordinary representation may answer the purpose of a constitution or give us one; and this constituent representation ought to exist independent of the destruction of orders. The *tiers-état* ought to perceive, that all their hopes must depend intirely on their understanding and courage. What have the *tiers-état* been till now? Nothing. What are the *tiers-état?* Every thing. What ought they to have

done? Never will the social mechanism be properly understood, unless the mode be followed of analysing a society as we do a machine."

"What remains for the *tiers-état* to do? To organise the body of government, to submit it to such interior and exterior forms, as will insure *its aptitude* to the end for which it is established. The nation is the law itself; the nation is not to be controlled by a constitution. It cannot, and it ought not to be so subjected. The nations of the earth should be considered as so many individuals out of the social tie, or in a state of nature. In whatever way a nation wills, it is sufficient that it *wills*. Every form is good: the national will is always the supreme law. A nation neither can nor ought to confine itself within the constitutional laws. On the first contest arising between the parts of this constitution, what would become of the nation disposed to act only according to the disputed constitution? The parts of what is supposed to be the French constitution, being at variance among themselves; who is to decide between them? The nation, independent of all positive form. Though the nation should have its regular states-general, it would not belong to this constituted body to pronounce on subjects which affect the constitution: in that there would be a grant of vicious principles. Extraordinary representatives may have as much new power as it shall please the nation to grant them. It was

neither requisite to assemble the notables, nor suffer the nation or its concerns to languish, nor employ the mediation of those parties who were interested in endeavouring to incline them to their several sides. It was necessary to have recourse to the grand means of an extraordinary representation: it was the nation that was to be consulted, and it was to be found in forty thousand parishes. These are undoubtedly the nation. They might have been otherwise divided and might have consisted only of twenty or thirty parishes; each of which would have formed a province, which would have sent *representatives* extraordinary to the metropolis. Had there been the *will* or had it been *known how*, to have paid homage to good principles, more would have been effected in four months, than the course of the public opinion will be able to perform in half a century. But what would have become of the distinction of the three orders? That which ought to become of it. The principles I have just laid down are certain: we must either renounce all social order, or else acknowledge its sway. At present we have not only a constitution; but if we may believe the privileged orders, its arrangements are excellent and blameless. The first, the division of citizens by order: the second their equal influence. This equal influence is the most absurd idea that can be conceived; there does not exist a nation which can ever introduce

any thing similar into its constitution. For if it be pretended, that, according to the French constitution, two or three thousand individuals have a right to domineer over twenty millions, and are entitled to two-thirds in the general determinations; what reply can be made, unless it be affirmed, that two and two are five? But to whom belongs the right of consulting the nation? When the public welfare is so much at stake as equally to involve every individual, will time be lost in enquiring to whom belongs the right of convening? It should rather be asked, who has not the right? It is the sacred duty of all those who can be of any service. The prince, in quality of first citizen, is the most interested in convoking the people; thus, the knowledge of what ought to have been done, may lead to what will be done; then it is always right to present true principles in a subject so new to the generality of those concerned. The *tiers-état* alone, it will be said, cannot form the states-general. So much the better. They will compose a national assembly: there are great advantages resulting from exercising the legislative power by three bodies or three chambers: while there is great absurdity in composing these three chambers of three orders at enmity. The true medium consists in separating the representatives of the *tiers-état* into three equal divisions. They will have the suffrages of from twenty-five to twenty-

six millions of individuals, that is, of all the individuals which compose the nation, except about two hundred thousand priests and nobles; and they will debate for the nation at large, these two hundred thousand excepted. Is it not monstrous to compose an assembly in such a manner that it is able to vote for the interest of the minority? Is not an institution like this, an assembly turned upside down? Hence it follows, that the representatives of the *tiers-état* are the real depositaries of the national will; and this is sufficient to demonstrate, that the *tiers-état* are obligated to form for themselves alone a national assembly. It is impossible to ascertain what place two privileged bodies ought to occupy in the social order: it is like asking what place should be assigned in the sick man's body for the malignant humours which torment his frame and destroy the vital principle. It must be *neutralized*, and the constitution be so strengthened as to prevent the formation of any future *morbid combinations*."

Such are the democratic principles which were disseminated during the three last months of the year 1788. Such was the general code which directed the conduct of all our revolutionary families without exception; not only in their coalition of 1789 against the monarchy; but even in that series of wars which the different factions afterwards mutually waged against each other. These

vast systems of social reform had essentially a radical vice, but for which the utopian system of politics might have been realised in France. In their sublime metaphysical theories, they imagined the possibility of preventing the class of the French populace, which they were going to invest with the authority, from ever being in future infected by *morbid combinations*. As if nature had not given the *tiers-état*, such as they were in 1787, the same vices, both of the understanding and heart, which they were aiming to reform in the mass of the French nation. Their arguments had, besides, some other fundamental errors. They arrogated to themselves the power of governing the French generation of 1788, not such as it was, but such as they wished it to be, or rather they thought it such as ought to be. Fatal error, the source of all our misfortunes: for France has always refused being reformed according to their systems; first because she never can be so; and next because her connection with the European republic, could it have been possible, would have opposed it. Eleven years experience of the most painful suffering, are they not sufficient to confirm these fatal truths? I am writing this chapter in the seventh year of the republic.

Hence the necessity of inventing the revolutionary system, which we have seen brought for-

ward in 1788 from the very bosom of the government, that conspired against itself. Hence the destructive principles which contributed to the annihilation of our laws, manners, and customs. Hence the necessity of inventing unknown theories to govern our country, after the catastrophe meditated against her; theories obscure and austere, which no revolutionary faction would attempt to reduce to practice; theories founded on democratic speculations, so foreign to the manners of new governments, much more corrupt and intolerant than that annihilated in 1788.

The revolution having thus destroyed the preserving principles of the ancient constitution, and laid the foundations of equality and elections, the repressive measures invented by our ancestors and by all the modern people of Europe, for no other purpose than to prevent our misfortunes, being now abased, society in France was left without a regulator. Our neighbours, on the contrary, who religiously observed these principles, enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity, whilst we endured every evil under the sun. What a picture do the different revolutionary families exhibit, who were taken out of the mass of the French people, by election, to secure the government! They had annihilated every useful measure of government, and they wished to govern. We have seen Geneva, disorganised in 1781 by the democratic explosion

of the friends of equality, and by the incarceration of her magistrates and her government: in 1789 France exhibited the same spectacle on a larger scale.

We have seen presbyterianism, united to democracy, destroy religion, and effect in France a religious revolution, more profound than that of Henry VIII. In these different political revolutions, France had embraced the same systems as Geneva and Great Britain: to succeed in them, she delivered herself up to popular government, which is the principal power by essence, and had to expect the same effect: she had forgotten, that our ancestors in their wisdom had not constituted the direction of authority from amongst their own families: she had forgotten, that giving authority its proper direction was rendering it tyrannical, and uniting what sagacity had divided, equalising what it had made hierarchical, and creating an homogenealness when the nature of government had created heterogeneous principles. Thus, the French revolutionists brought us back to the epoch of the establishment of the Franks in Gaul, when they knew no other laws or administration than that of the force they held in their lands. Read the summary of crimes committed by that people before the establishment of social order and repressive measures: observe also that chain of revolutionary governments which have succeeded

each other in France since 1789, and judge of the revolution after the destruction of repressive measures, and of the similarity of the situations.

Observe, on another side, the tranquillity of European nations, where the political germs of the revolution have not been fostered by our armies; all those powers, formed on the ruins of the Roman empire, for a long time barbarous and disorganized, have only arrived at civilization by slow and progressive steps; aiding each other reciprocally by their literary, religious, and commercial communications. Introduce amongst any of these the anarchical code of 1788, the report of the council, and the work entitled, *What is the tiers-état?* and you will effect in them the same revolution as in France, the principles of which are all contained in those publications.

CHAP. V.

Events which occurred immediately before the Dissolution of the ancient Monarchy—Invincible Repugnance of the Majority of the Nobility and Clergy to unite in one Chamber with the Tiers-Etat—Division of the Court—The Party of the Princes and principal Men oppose the Union—The Party of Mr. Necker require it—Agitation and Indecision of Lewis XVI.—Mr. Necker attaches himself to the Party of the Union—The Queen adopts the opposite Party—Regal Sitting, at which the Union is proscribed—Mr. Necker threatens to retire—The People assemble in a Mob to retain him—The regal Sitting passes for a Court Intrigue—Anecdote on the Portrait of Charles I. in the King's Cabinet—Anecdote on the Print of that Monarch's Execution—Insensibility of Lewis XVI.

THE union of the three orders in one constituent chamber was the first desire which the *tiers-état* expressed with energy. The relative number of its members was double. The minority of the *noblesse* was composed of a few courtiers, disgusted with the court or else vindictive, of several honest men, a few of whom were just arrived from America, where they had been fighting for liberty, and of the impure party of the duke of Orleans, who was endeavouring to dethrone the reigning monarch and ruin the queen. This minority, composed of such heterogeneous elements, were alike in heart and

mind, and burned to be united to the *tiers* in order to effect a revolution. The majority of the clergy, composed of priests who had chosen themselves in the electoral assemblies, and who were possessed of popular manners and interests, an acknowledged hatred to the episcopacy, and a strong desire to exchange their livings for bishoprics, felt the same impulse of attraction towards the *tiers-état*. The majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy were, on the contrary, faithful to the ancient order of the government. The remaining part of the two chambers, informed of the project of another constitution, did not wish the *tiers-état* and the inferior clergy of the kingdom to be the authors of it: the latter had always received the laws, and now they were about to make them. The revolutionary writings, published for seven months before, evidently announced what the principles of the day were preparing against the first orders of the state. On a supposition of the union of the three chambers, the majority which the ancient constitution adjudged to the nobility and clergy, was annihilated.

Aristocracy, which had become so odious, now shook hands with democracy, its eternal enemy. The ties and connections of social intercourse were broken. The *tiers-état* were every thing, and, according to the definitions of the abbé

Sieyes, represented the whole French nation, consisting of twenty-four millions of souls: whilst the nobility and clergy were now but a shadow, and did not even represent a million. The leaders of the people, under such circumstances, required a constitution; and the first orders of the state were certain, that, if it were dictated to and supported by a majority entirely democratic, the fate of France must be changed. The nobility and clergy, therefore, refused to unite.

The court in these circumstances was divided. The queen, the princes, favourites and principal men, demanded the separation of the chambers, to prevent the revolution.

The majority of the administration, on the contrary, firm in their principles of conspiracy against the ancient *régime*, petitioned for the union. Mr. Necker having got rid of the archbishop of Toulouse, who wished to keep back the states-general; and Lamoignon, who would have none at all, had permitted only popular characters to enter the council. By his great influence he concerted measures preparatory to the establishment of liberty, diminishing the power of the aristocracy, and weakening that of the *tiers-état*. In this ulterior and definitive contest between the court party and that of the revolution, the latter required an union of interests, to form a constituent assembly. The court party demanded the

preservation of the three chambers to secure the majority of the two first orders. The king, faithful to his character, was floating between the parties. A wish to serve the people made him listen to Mr. Necker: while the fear of losing the authority he inherited from his ancestors induced him to lend an ear to his courtiers. Mr. Necker, wishing to dissolve the difficulties attending on the union of orders, invented a party trick, a royal sitting, to ordain it. He persuaded the king in the council of state, to enjoin the three orders to unite together in general affairs. To this end was the royal sitting projected. The queen, on the other hand, introduced the princes of the blood and the magistrates, who were against the union, into the council, and they determined the king to declare, in the projected royal sitting, that *he would preserve the distinction of the three orders, as essentially connected with the constitution of the state.* The king, therefore, held this fatal sitting according to the latter plan, on the 23d of June; but the absence of Mr. Necker announced to France that the minister did not approve of it. Duroveray, a Genevese, and a pensioner of George III., continued to distribute his circular bulletins in the hall of the *tiers-état.* He fomented, in 1789, by his intrigues, the democratic plan which France had militarily destroyed at Geneva in 1782. Mr.

Necker, perceiving his plans of reform destroyed by a royal sitting, talked of retiring. The populace, in a state of riot and fury, surround his house at Versailles, and proceed to the palace to prevent it; and the king and queen, alarmed, repeat the cry of the mob. The royal sitting was therefore considered as nothing more than a court intrigue.

On the day that Mr. Necker succeeded in uniting the *tiers*, in the month of December, 1788, the count d'Artois, in spite of the advice of the princes and chief nobles, had gone into the king's cabinet, and substituted the portrait of Charles I. for that of Lewis XV. Afterwards, when Lewis XVI. asked Mr. Necker to remain in the administration, and when the people of Versailles expressed by their violence, the interest they took in Mr. Necker's welfare, the count d'Artois took away that picture, as too inexpressive, and put in its place an engraving, then recently published, in which king Charles was represented with his head upon the block, and the executioner on the point of striking the fatal blow. Still this lesson made no impression on the king.

The court, however, were collecting and hastening the approach of the troops. The party of the queen with indignation saw the people of Versailles give such testimonies of protection to a minister; and they resolved to risk every thing to prevent the union of the orders. The majority

of the inferior clergy, however, seduced by the example of two of their body, fly to the chamber of the *tiers*, and are followed by the duke of Orleans and forty-eight deputies of the nobility. The king, perceiving the two first chambers thus dissolve, and that of the *tiers-état* establishing itself, invites the two first orders to be no longer dissentient. Thus the union was effected, and the powers were verified in common. It was agreed to vote by head, and voting by orders was annihilated. The history of the ancient French monarchy terminates here. It was composed of the crown, clergy, nobility, and people; and the crown and the people exclusively still composed, for a few months longer, its mutilated remains.

Henceforth, if the majority of the clergy, united to the people, concur in its operations, it is to destroy the power of the clergy, the nobility, and the king.

If the minority of the nobility united concur with the people, it is to act in the same sense.

If a monarchical minority be composed in the union of the orders, it is buffeted by every tempest.

And if the king dare to call to his assistance the military power, his last resource, the people, rising *en masse*, compose a national guard to suppress his authority, and maintain the royal democracy of 1789.

CHAP. VI.

Character and Portrait of the public Opinion cultivated by Mr. Necker during his second Administration—His public Opinion, during both his Administrations, was never that of the principal Men, the Clergy and Nobility, nor of the Monarchy: but was ever the revolutionary Opinion of the Times—In 1789 it was the Opinion of the Orleanists, Constituents, Girondins, Montagnards, and Cordeliers, revolutionizing together—Representation of the mechanical Origin and Decomposition of this public Opinion—Unpopularity of Mr. Necker at the Time of his Retreat; he is the Sport of all Parties—He retires.

MR. NECKER, to whom France, as well as every party and all Europe, attribute this series of destructive operations, conducted all his measures in the name of *public opinion*. Even now he defends them by the same authority. Formerly, when trying his strength with an influence much inferior, and when superintended and repressed by the counts Vergennes and Maurepas, it was by virtue of the same *public opinion* that he acted. Yet, in 1781, this *public opinion* was neither that of the princes, the government, the clergy, the parliaments, the nobility, nor of the superior administration. All the authorities, all

the orders of the state, were then exasperated at his primary systems.

Notwithstanding the union of the authorities which were all against him, Mr. Necker could not perceive, that if the first assembly of the *notables* were favourably disposed to him, it was simply on account of the sentiments of opposition he manifested towards M. de Calonne, whom they wished to ruin. In effect, the same *notables*, recalled by him, were no sooner assembled, than they almost unanimously expressed opposite opinions to those which he professed. Now, this assembly was composed of the princes of the blood, of the principal nobility and clergy, of the presidents of parliaments, and of the chiefs of the most considerable cities in the kingdom. Thus Mr. Necker found himself a second time in open opposition to the entire monarchy. His writings attest, that he was not unacquainted with it; and his actions evince, that, deprived, in 1788, of the assistance of public opinion in the operation of his reforms, he endeavoured to create one. On his coming a second time to the head of affairs, he found public opinion wholly employed in support of the nobility, clergy, parliaments, and state-countries, exasperated against the administration. In order to attract it towards himself, Mr. Necker was obliged to make a diversion, to call popular systems to his aid, to introduce in France

the word *aristocracy*, and to direct against it his first debates. He therefore convoked the *notables* at second time, and placed them in a situation to aid him in the destruction of the orders, and discompose the ancient monarchy; or to render it unpopular and bring it into disgrace with the *tiers-état*. An opinion truly public resulted from the strife he excited between the people and the first orders of the state. *Public opinion*, during his first administration, as I have already shewn, was nothing more than the destructive notions of the disaffected and of the opposition. Under his second administration, in 1788, this public opinion was only the opinion of revolutionists, without stability or certain foundations, and as versatile as the party-spirit which he had created and animated in France.

This he experienced on the first day of the states-general. All the orders, united in one chamber on the day of that solemnity, revolted at the imperative tone he adopted in presence of an assembly to which, as he thought, with reason, he had given existence. "We were astonished," said Granié, "at the audacious confidence of a foreigner talking thus to the representatives of a great nation. His discourse exhibited the extent of his genius and pride. The indifference of those conspicuous for their talents in the opposite party amounted to contempt for him...."

Public opinion, however, ranged itself a second time under his standard; but to recover it he was obliged to have recourse again to his disorganizing system in favour of the *tiers-état*. He might then have perceived, that, having raised a disturbance in the public mind, it would not be in his power to keep within bounds the revolted mass. The court, observing that he still persisted in his design of governing the king, the national assembly, and the populace, got the monarch again over to its side; and, as the military force drew near, the king proceeded in banishing the Genevan minister from the French territory.

At this intelligence the people again assemble, and carry the busts of Mr. Necker and the duke of Orleans about the streets. This tacit lesson was given to the king with address, and the royal treasury paid for it. *Make your choice*, said some of the popular party to the king in his own closet at Versailles, *either take Mr. Necker with his constitution, or see the duke of Orleans upon the throne.* One Frenchman, possessed of more foresight, being a spectator of the popular parade, and forming a just opinion of its worthless actors, with their ferocious looks, and filthy disgusting clothes, rushed out of the crowd, in spite of the sithes and pikes with which they were armed, drew his sword, cut off the head of the

bust of Orleans, and threw that of the Genevese in the dirt, at the same time pronouncing these memorable words: *Thus I treat public opinion.* Meanwhile the royal troops increased, and were flocking in from all parts. At Paris a militia was formed, and the cockade mounted. At Versailles the national assembly decree, that the dismissed ministers, Mr. Necker, St. Priest, la Lucerne, and Montmorin carried with them the confidence of the nation. The *tocsin* again sounds at Paris, the people take up arms, besiege the Bastille, and murder the governor; the king, alarmed, proceeds to the national assembly, resigns the remains of his authority, and assumes the national cockade at Paris. Mr. Necker is recalled. Twice retired from the court, twice driven into exile, he again appears after the taking of the Bastille; but the very day he is seen in the midst of the municipality, he is insulted by the districts of the capital, whose creation had been his most darling work.

Thus the *public opinion* which remained with Mr. Necker in France, after having lost the favour of the second assembly of *notables*, and incurred recently the resentment of the two first orders of the state, was solely and exclusively the opinion of the revolutionists of 1789; that is to say, the versatile and fleeting opinion of the events directed by it; an association of ideas, plans,

and systems, engendered in 1789 by the popular party, victorious over the ancient *regime*, over the fugitive and prescribed courtiers, and over the clergy metamorphosed into simple priests confounded with the mass of the people, after having divided with them the equality of rights.

What then was that association of revolutionists, which appeared in 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793, during the different movements of the progressive revolution, if it were not the aggregate of the constituents, the jacobins of each successive order, the Feuillants, the Girondins, the Orleanists, the Montagnards, the Maratists, the Cordeliers, and the Thermidorians, all united as brothers and friends, and emulously combining their forces for the destruction of ancient France? Was it not the combination of their opinions, which formed the public opinion of Mr. Necker? the opinion to which he had made every sacrifice, and which was visibly increasing as late as the 14th of July, in proportion as he caressed it; but which was lost the moment he dared to oppose its effects, or show the least sign of repentance? If Mr. Necker still doubt, that, at the time of doubling the *tiers*, at that of the royal sitting, or at the period of his second exile, he enjoyed the ephemeral attachment of all parties united in one, let him read the writings of the leaders of factions: he will find what the Orleanist-jacobin

journals of Laclos, the Girondin journals of Brissot and Gorsas, those of the Cordeliers by Duchesne and Marat, and those of the Montagnards by Robespierre said, together, of his operations in 1789; he will perceive, that he was then the darling object of the favour of every faction let loose against ancient France, at that time united by coincident ideas. He will perceive, that this opinion daily lost ground to his prejudice, in proportion as he undertook to mention humanity or *toleration*, so opposite to the shapeless association of revolutionary opinions in the situation of affairs at that period.

Hence Mr. Necker, on the day of his triumphal entry into Paris accompanied by the municipality, had so sooner developed his sentiments of humanity in favour of M. de Bezenval, than he became unpopular in the districts of Paris. On that day he was condemned by the furious enemies of legal forms, and by the first authors of revolutionary violence, who before that time had been subservient to the superior authorities, which he had not long before confounded with the people.

Some time after Mr. Necker expressed his sentiments on the *veto*, which the king wished to exercise against the errors of the legislative assemblies. Immediately the party of Orleans, and the constituent republicans, already well

grounded in their principles, withdrew from him their confidence: so that the importance and power of this *public opinion*, which he prided himself on having created, insensibly falling off each day, left him soon without support, and unprovided with means for the government of the nation.

Soon after this, Mr. Necker, in a memorial, dared to oppose the destruction of armorial bearings, and the emblematic distinctions of nobility. Instantly another section of his party abandoned him; the levellers took him for an apostate, for a bad citizen. The districts of Paris also revolted against la Luzerne, la Tour-du-Pin, and St. Priest, who coalesced in 1789 with Mr. Necker against the court. In a little time the latter found himself isolated, without friends, without partizans, and without defenders.

He now thought of quitting France; and in this remarkable conjuncture was persecuted by the popular party he had created, and hooted and despised by that which he had endeavoured to destroy. In the national assembly (the echo of the jacobins and the districts), his administration was insulted; as was that of la Luzerne, St. Priest, and la Tour-du-Pin, in whose hands the ancient monarchy breathed its last. "I do not step forward," said Cazalès, "to defend these ministers; I know nothing of their characters,

and I cannot esteem their conduct. It is from Stafford, that they should learn to perish, or to re-establish a monarchy, which they have suffered to be abased. But is not that minister dead, *(Mr. Necker)* who has abandoned France in the midst of the dangers, into which he had precipitated her? Is not his name erasedfrom the list of the living?"

" Shall we be foolish enough, to let him depart without giving in his accounts?" said Marat, on the opposite side of the question. " He is accused of having carried away above 600 millions, for which he has not accounted; and he has transmitted to London money enough to purchase a little kingdom."

Brissot, Gorsas, *l'Ami du Roi, le Père Duchesne,* and all the other journalists, were emulous to insult him in their papers; and he was persecuted to the utmost by the libels of the party of Orleans.

The national guard arrested him at *Bar-sur-Aube;* and in that town he was enabled to judge of the nature of the military power, to which he had delivered over the state.

" The king, having been always kind to me," said Mr. Necker, " from the moment I returned from Switzerland in obedience to his orders, expressed however no desire, that I should any longer remain with him. I perceived the dimi-

nution of my credit in the council. My power vanished with my popularity. The ministers were now no more than machines, moved by the hands of the national assembly or its committees.

" Unhappy victim of a series of injustice, of which the annals of history afford few examples, I know not why public opinion is not the same in my eyes, as it was formerly. The respect I have religiously paid to it diminished, when I saw it subservient to the artifices of the wicked."

Such was the person, who incessantly opposed the measures of monarchical and revolutionary France; who was the scourge of Frenchmen in aiming at their happiness; who precipitated them into crimes while wishing to raise them to virtue; who ruined our finances by endeavouring to regenerate them; who conducted the monarchy to popular tyranny in attempting to set it free; and who could not find a single epoch in our annals, since the year 1776, to deserve the approbation of his restless and reforming mind. To be able to judge Mr. Necker with propriety, we must examine his character at three different periods, and divide his operations into so many classes.

From the time of his elevation to the head of affairs in 1776, until 1781, he is solely employed in creating an *opinion*, which he terms

public, and opposes it to our ancient institutions.

His second administration should be divided into two parts: the first commences on the day of his second elevation, and terminates on the 14th of July. On this occasion, he collects the combustibles, and prepares the *feux-de-joie*; he kindles the fire, and stirs and feeds it. Soon these *feux-de-joie* become a general conflagration, and then he wishes to extinguish it: but it is now too late; every political institution, formed against popular fermentation, tumult, and outrage, is annihilated. At the end of fourteen centuries France again finds herself at the period of the inroads of the Franks on the plains of Gaul; with this difference, that under Clovis she had a dauntless chief, more powerful than his equals, and born capable of creating an empire; whilst, in 1789, a royal statue was all that remained of disorganized and ruined France, which Mr. Necker dared to turn into a theatrical king, to answer his own purposes; but after the 14th of July each of the revolutionary parties fleecing and insulting him in their turn, contributed to prepare the 21st of January, the most memorable epocha in the history of our country.

ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF THE MECHANISM OF THE ANCIENT FRENCH GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS LEWIS XVI. HAD RECEIVED IT FROM HIS ANCESTORS, AND WHICH HAD BEEN BRINGING TO PERFECTION FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONARCHY, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTH CENTURY, TO ITS DISSOLUTION AT THE END OF THE LAST CENTURY.

In this Table may be seen the different parts of Hierarchies, from which the general Hierarchy of the State are resulted, and the three Issues of CONSTITUTION, PRESERVATION, *and* ADMINISTRATION, *whence the French Monarchy was formed.*

Intended as an Illustration to the Memoirs of the Reign of LEWIS XVI.

BY J. L. SOULAVIE.

THE KING,

SUPREME HEAD OF THE CONSTITUTION, PRESERVATION, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE MONARCHY.

(AND THE QUEEN, REGENCY AND MINORITY.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE MONARCHY.

THE STATES-GENERAL,

CALLED

FOR THE CEREMONIAL

DIVIDED FOR DELIBERATION

INTO

I. Chamber of the Clergy.	II. Chamber of the Nobility.	III. Chamber of the Tiers Etat.
Composed of Bishops, Abbots, and Deputies of the Chapters.	Composed of the Heads of the different Noble families and elected Nobles.	Composed of Citizens from the Communes.

THE MINISTER OR SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD.

THE GALLICAN CHURCH, constituted on Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion.		NATIONAL INSTRUCTION of the University.				The [illegible] as one Body, for the Administration of the Finances.
SECULAR CLERGY. Prelacy of the Church and Metropolitans.	REGULAR CLERGY. Orders and Chapters established in France.	The University of Paris entitled The King's Daughter. THE FACULTIES.				HOUSEHOLD of the Law Courts of France.
EPISCOPAL COURTS.	PROVINCIALS of the Religious.	Deans of the three first Faculties, and the Regents of the 4th.				Marguilliers and Curates, Rectors and Vicaires.
Vicars Generals.	Deputies of Chapters.	Ecclesiastical Affairs. Commissary Judges.	Professors of Theology. The Deans.	Professors of Law. The Assessors.	Professors of Physic. The Deans.	Professors of the Arts. The Deans.	Knights, Squires, Domestics, and other Ecclesiastical Gentlemen.
Officials.	Canons.	JUDGES of Chapters.	Professors of Theology.	Professors of Law.	Professors of Physic.	Professors of Arts. Professors.	Noble Students, and Ecclesiastical Nobles.
Rectors.	Rectors of Parishes.	Curates of Parishes, and Monks who had Cure of Souls.	Doctors of Theology.	Bachelors of Law.	Bachelors of Physic.	Masters of Arts.	Companions, Valets, or Servants of the Students, and Domestic Gentlemen.
Curates and Vicaires.	Deputies of the Lower Clergy.	The Procurators, Attorneys, Solicitors, Bailiffs, Sergeants, and Notaries.	FIRST CLASSES of Students.				Procurators, Attorneys, Solicitors, Bailiffs, Sergeants, and Notaries.
The PATRIMONY.			STUDENTS				SOLICITORS of Parliament.

PRESERVATION OF THE MONARCHY.

HOUSE OF PEERS.

Composed of the Princes of the Blood, Princes and Dukes created by Kings, Peers and Dukes by succession, Marshals of France, and all hereditary Noblemen, invested with the Seigniories of Peerages.

THE KING

I.	II.	III.
II. House of Montmorency, and other Houses of Princes, and ancient Noblesse, according to the Seigniories of Peerages.		
I. Branch of Spain, descended from Louis XIV.		
II. Branch of Naples, Parma,		
III. Branch of Savoy,		

Councils of Parliaments, [illegible]

THE MINISTER OR SECRETARY OF STATE

THE KING

The Grand Almoner of France.	The Grand Chamberlain.	The Grand Master of the Wardrobe.	The Grand Equerry.
The First Almoner to the King.	The Chamberlain of the King's Household.		The Equerries of the King.
The Ordinary and Quarterly Chaplains.	The Chamberlains and Gentlemen of the Chamber.	The Masters of the Wardrobe.	The Equerries.
The Clerks of the Chapel.	The Gentlemen of the Chamber.	The Clerks of the Wardrobe.	The Equerries.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MONARCHY.

THE COUNCILS

I. COUNCIL OF STATE.

Home, embracing the legislation of Monarchy, the cases which were called as it by the King, and deliberating on general affairs, peace, war, and foreign negotiations.

II. COUNCIL OF DESPATCHES.

For the orders of the King, and the government of the Interior, established in 1547.

III. COUNCIL OF PARTIES.

For the Contentious affairs of inferior courts, in which personal causes were decided. Brought back generally by the Chancellor, composed of Ecclesiastical, Military, and Civil Councillors.

IV. COUNCIL OF FINANCES.

Established in 1578.

V. COUNCIL OF COMMERCE.

Established in 1715.

VI. COUNCIL OF CONSCIENCE.

Several times suppressed and re-established. Suppressed definitively in 1715, by the Regent. The only Session of it in 1787 was the Petition lodged with the Keeper of Seals and the Ecclesiastical Council of the King.

THE CHANCELLOR OF FRANCE, or Keeper of the Seals.	The Ministers of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.	The Ministers of Secretary of State for the Military Department.	The Ministers of Secretary of State for the Marine Department.	The Controller-General of the Finances, or Minister of Commerce, suppressed by Mr. Necker.
THE PARLIAMENTS with other Courts of Jurisdiction.	Ambassadors, Envoys, and Ministers.	Marshals of France.	Vice-Admirals and the Admirals.	Intendants of the Finances, and Intendants of Commerce, suppressed by Mr. Necker.
THE FIRST PRESIDENT.				
The Grand Chamber. / The Chambers of Inquests. / The Chambers of Requests. / The Chambers of Appeals. / The Chambers of Judgments.	Ministers Plenipotentiary.	Lieutenant-Generals.	Lieutenant-Generals.	Intendants and Sub-delegates of Finances and Bureaux of Receivers.
Deliberations of Counsellors, and Law Councillors, in the Four Chambers.	Residentiary Ministers.	Military Commissaries, Inspectors of Infantry, Engineers, and Officers.	Commissaries.	Treasurers-General of Finances, appointed by Mr. Necker.
Conferences of the Counsellors among themselves.	Consuls of Nations and Colonies.	Colonels of Regiments.	Captains of Ships.	Receivers-General, appointed by Mr. Necker.
Interrogations and Affirmations of new Functionaries.	Secretaries and Interpreters of Legations.	Majors and Lieutenants.	Officers and Constables.	Inspectors of Imposts.
Deliberations and Term Orders.	Secretaries of Legations.	Brigadiers and Colonels.	Pilots. Officers.	Collectors.
		Aids of Colonels.	Seamen and Boys.	Petty Officers and Clerks of the public Treasury.

Turn Page VII. for VI.

CHAP. VII.

Sketch of the Mechanism of the Ancient Government, such as the King received it from his Ancestors.—The King supreme Head of the Constitution, Administration, and Preservation of the Monarchy—How he regulated the Clergy, Nobility, and Tiers-état—Hierarchy in the different Orders of the State—The monarchy was the result of it—Anarchical convulsions among the Institutions, in which the Order of the Hierarchy was not observed—Government nourished the Rivalry between the Bodies of the State—It nourished another in the Interior of each Body or Authority—Different Conditions of the Crown with the several Authorities—These dissentions contributed to the Maintenance of Power—Anomalous Limits of the Dioceses, military Provinces, and Intendancies, another Source of Authority—France has ever defended and sought Liberty.

WHEN France shall have gone through the different periods of her revolutionary malady, and returned in some measure from her errors, she will rise resplendent from the bosom of agitation to continue the course of her destiny. At that time, perhaps, we shall have forgotten by what means she still remained, in 1789, the first nation in Europe: it may then perhaps be spoken of as we now speak of the league, or the age of Lewis XIV.

It is not only for distant ages, but also for early periods of return towards a beneficent administration, that I have written this chapter; for, beside

being bound to speak the truth of a government, under which I was born, and in which I have received my education; beside, also, being under the necessity of acting justly towards this government, loaded ever since 1789 with a torrent of abuse and calumny, poured out by ignorant and detestable parties; it is necessary to exhibit to future governments what was useful, agreeable, and prosperous in its constitution, what was abusive and unjust in it, and what was dangerous and falling into decay.

It is besides a national and extremely patriotic undertaking, even in the ideas of the most violent revolutionists, to explain what rendered this government formidable without, and insured its reputation as the most important state in Europe. For these different ends, and in order to show at one view the whole of the means and resources of the French monarchy, I have united my observations in the form of a table.

By the side of the *table of the mechanism of the French monarchy* I shall place *that of the mechanism of the revolution.* Thus posterity may judge at a single glance what disorder the levels of democracy have introduced into the ancient social government.

---

*It was not till after several ages had elapsed, and after having endured every sort of successive

tyranny, that ancient France found within herself the means of classing the destructive passions of empires, and of governing the people by balancing interests and authorities.

1st. Repressing the exclusive government of THE CLERGY, by the union of the nobility and people under the royal direction.

2d. Repressing the exclusive government of THE NOBILITY, by the union of the people and clergy under the authority of the monarch.

3d. Repressing the movements and destructive administration of THE PEOPLE, by the influence of the nobility and clergy under the authority of the crown.

4th. Repressing, in fine, the usurpation of the crown and its military government by simple remonstrances of all the orders of the state, as happened in 1788.

Herein consisted the secret of the tranquillity, repose, and prosperity of the ancient French monarchy.

Every time that one or two of the four powers neglected to watch and support their interests, either TYRANNY, or an irregular and unconstitutional coalition against the suffering party, was the consequence; although that party formed one of the integral parts of the state.

Hence, France had suffered under the military and primordial power of the French kings. At the period when the division of secondary powers

was not discovered, she suffered from sacerdotal government; as the church alone possessed religious and administrative information.

She suffered, in fine, for ages from the feudal government.

To complete the circle of her misery, and fulfil her destiny, it only remained for her to endure all the evils of the world under the exclusive popular government of the Constituents, the Feuillants, the Girondins, the Montagnards, and the Thermidorians. Frenchmen! by you they were elected; you know how they exercised their authority.

To avoid the four abuses of government, that is to say, the absolute sacerdotal power, the state of slavery under the great, submission to the purely military power of one alone, and the fury of exclusive democracy, France had improved her internal and political existence, in governing herself, under the house of Bourbon, *by amalgamation:* and she is indebted for that invention to the great Henry. He was a long time before he could find a remedy for the evils of the league. France has since derived her power and splendor from the social conjunction of the four interests of the king, nobility, clergy, and people, employed together in the government of the state; and if Mr. Necker had not destroyed this conjunction with his levels, by forming a constituent assembly of a popular majority, under pretence of relieving the people, there is

no doubt but the powers of the ancient régime, by their counterpoising influence, would have preserved France in the enjoyment of the happiness of her peaceable ages, as they have preserved it in all Europe armed against our intestine dissentions. But Mr. Necker thought of making her more popular than Geneva, where absolute equality of political rights HAS NEVER been established individually; as he succeeded in establishing it momentarily, by various feats, in the composition of his constituent assembly. The republican levels thus succeeding to the variety of hierarchies, which formed the edifice of the state, it was impossible for France to avoid the destructive, absolute, and exclusive system of democracy, from which we have just emerged.

The French monarchy derived its power not only from the form of its general hierarchy, but also from the hierarchical form it had given to each of the orders composing the assembly of the state: so that there was no function or condition in France, whether constitutive, religious, administrative, or instructive, which was not fashioned strictly according to the hierarchical scale. Hence France was less a monarchical hierarchy, than a composition of an infinity of secondary hierarchies, united by common consent to support the edifice, as a general of an army supports a mass of troops he commands; manœuvring them, and making them

practise a thousand different evolutions, by means of the division of corps and the command of subalterns. A glance of the commander in chief, or a single word, is sufficient to put an army of a hundred thousand men in motion.

The monarchy having called the priesthood to the social association, and created them the first order of the state, the religious officers formed in the bosom of France, a hierarchy so much the more firmly constituted as it was the very essence of the sacerdotal institution. Mr. Necker is the first, who destroyed this hierarchy to the very ground, by making the presbyterians electors, to the prejudice of the cathedral churches. Before this destructive change, the latter dictated the laws; afterwards, they only received them.

In the table may be observed how many degrees the church of France was composed of; from the simple priest up to the primate of the Gauls, proceeding by the ranks of pastors, officials, vicars-general, bishops, and metropolitans, who were next to the primate. The religious orders, which formed a section of the clergy, were governed by constitutions equally hierarchical; and, with the exception of that of St. Benedict, whose throne was at Rome, France possessed within herself all the most wealthy, ancient, and numerous orders; Cænobites, Chartreux, Bernardins, Premonstratenses, Genevievans, and Mathurins.

Among the nobility, the hierarchy was observed both in their manners and constitution. From the hereditary peer of France down to an alderman of Toulouse, and from the heir of Montmorency down to the lowest nobleman, this order preserved its degrees; though wherever equality was established among it, as in the chamber of nobles in Bretany, it never failed to exhibit the storms of a violent democracy.

This hierarchical organization of ranks was considered so necessary to the welfare of the state, that all public offices were rigorously subjected to it. Our ancient national schools, our universities, in the classes of which, from the time of Charlemagne, their institutor, it was requisite to take degrees either in law, theology, arts, or physic, to be qualified for public functions, were remarkable for their distinctions. From the student to the doctor they rose by the degrees of master of arts, bachelor, and licentiate. The university itself was composed of more noble personages, from the simple doctor to the rector, to whom the king granted the honours of court. The agents of the university were promoted according to the degrees of doctor, professor, antecessor, and dean.

Justice was also administered in hierarchical forms. Counsellors, after having a long time practised in the subaltern courts of inquests and requests, entered the superior chamber. There

they found the presidents, above whom was observed *Monsieur le Premier*, representing the royal person, in whose name, by the greatest of abuses, all causes were determined.

Persons under the jurisdiction of the court were subject, before they arrived at this supreme tribunal, to the anterior judgments of the tribunals of inferior suits, where the judges of the lordship presided. The presidents, seneschals, and lords of manors came immediately after. The parliaments were the superior and sovereign courts, under the control of the chancery of France, the universal moderator and inspector of all the tribunals.

The general administration of the affairs of the kingdom was likewise subject to this hierarchical ascension of power, without which the most democratic and levelling government could put no law in execution. The king presided at the council of state, where matters of so great moment and generality were discussed, that an experienced statesman was infinitely superior to other citizens. By this council the whole machine was put in motion. The nature of the monarchical power was such, that the king might create or destroy this supreme magistrate by a single word. The members of the council were called ministers; and unless the ministers of war or of the marine were members of it, they were in reality no more than

secretaries of state. A door-keeper of the king's chamber, or, in later times, one of the king's simple *valets-de-chambre*, was the organ employed by his majesty to create them. *M. de Malesherbes, the king has made you minister*, said the valet: the same day M. de Malesherbes took his seat as minister of state.

The council of dispatches, for the execution of the laws, the council *des parties*, those of commerce and finance, and formerly that of conscience, formed of themselves another hierarchy.

Beginning with ministers of the first distinction, it descended by a gradual scale, as in all the other authorities. From the ranks and dignities of ambassadors, marshals of France and admirals, who were on an equality, there was a regular descent to those of secretary of legation, sergeant and petty officer; and from this multiplication of hierarchies it resulted, that the French monarchy was not one monarchy alone, but an aggregate of a very considerable number, composing together the general monarchy, one and indivisible, which the king set in motion by a single act of his will, tempered by the vicinity and observation of all the bodies I have just mentioned.

This hierarchical mode was so necessary to the preservation of the monarchy, that every time any part of it was neglected, some inconvenience never failed to arise; and the assembly of the nobility of

Bretany was a continual object of alarm to authority. All the laws of the state were so rigid in forbidding the assembly of the rectors of the kingdom, that in 1785 the abbé Talleyrand, agent of the clergy, had renewed a declaration to the king on the subject; and it is precisely from this class of forty thousand rectors of the kingdom, that Mr. Necker raised a part of his legislators. The union of the five chambers of parliament on political affairs, and for enregistering acts, almost always foreboded some disturbance. Among the clergy, the class of preachers were indebted to their constitution for the liberty they enjoyed, and which they never ceased to manifest. If the introduction of the great into the French academy had not destroyed its level, it would have become dangerous to government; which was so well aware of this, that in the institutions of the academies of sciences, inscriptions, painting, &c. it required a president, noblemen as honorary members, veterans, pensioners, fellows, *élèves*, &c.

Levellers may imagine, that these hierarchies were burdensome, and that associations upon a footing of equality were more free. But would not the most skilful, the most wealthy, or the most eloquent among them, usurp an aristocracy extremely mortifying and exclusive? The authority which Despréménil had assumed in the parliament in 1788 is inconceivable. He was become

an object of popular adoration very far from equality. At Versailles he was the terror of government.

Although such an hierarchical constitution of all the orders of the state insured a great stability to the government, it was still not so perfect, but that recourse was sometimes necessarily had to the art of fomenting divisions and disputes. The union of minds against government was ever a revolution in the state; and government, who feared it, were obliged to be constantly upon the watch, and mindful to preserve,

1st. The rivality of the nobles of the court against the magistracy;

2d. That of the magistracy against the clergy.

3d. That of the clergy and parliaments against the court of Rome.

Whenever these different bodies were at variance within themselves, the monarch interfered, restored tranquillity, and the state acquired new vigour; which lasted till some other commotion happened of a different nature.

Beside the rivalry established between the different bodies, government took special care to infuse it permanently into the very interior of each body; it continually presented to the parliament, for two different purposes, the bug-bear of the grand council. First, to suppress, in case

of necessity, an untractable or rebellious parliament; next, to transfer to its rival the cognizance of causes, which the spirit, that reigned in the parliament against government, might adjudge to the prejudice of the interests of the state. There being a great number of litigious causes, in which these interests were at stake, the ministry even brought them before the council *des parties*, composed, according to the spirit of the monarchy, of ecclesiastical, military, and civil counsellors.

The king also admitted rivalry into many parts of the administration, when they gave him just cause of suspicion. Under Lewis XVI. the powers of Europe constantly expended thirty-five millions of livres annually, for secret service money, to buy over ministers or friends; and France was the central power of Europe, which engaged the attention of all of them; France herself expended several millions each year for the same purpose. The subalterns in our foreign embassies were become observers, independent, in some measure, of the ambassador, on this account; whilst secret missions in foreign parts were the constant check of the French envoys. Lewis XV., during the whole of his reign, kept a continual check upon his minister for foreign affairs by the secret correspondence, become

famous from republican imprudence, which, in 1793, published the result of it in two volumes.

We might suppose, in reading this description, that the French government derived its power from the similitude and uniformity of the institutions above written. There was nothing in France so ill-defined as the famous ROYAL WILL. However absolute and military it might be, the king, who continually pronounced the words, SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE, found himself stopped at every step by the respect he was obliged to pay to our rights and customs.

When he demanded of his subjects gratuitous gifts, imposts, or subsidies, he *was under the necessity of using representations with the clergy* of France, and to assemble them, before he could accomplish his purpose.

He negociated with the parliament *the registering* of a money-bill.

He requested a sitting of the states of Languedoc:

In Burgundy he ordained it:

He was often obliged to buy it in Bretany, more or less indirectly: and *he raised it by force in the intendancies.*

The king, who was obliged to employ six different methods to obtain the taxes, derived a part of his power from the different conditions of his subjects, from the manner of treating with

them, and from the variety of the relative positions of the contributors. The court was very careful to respect the variety of these rights. With such institutions a simultaneous insurrection against government was almost impossible in France, and the court would never have felt the embarrassments into which it was so often plunged, if the similar constitution of the parliaments had not occasioned the simultaneous insurrections of those bodies possessing the same interests and the same organization.

The confusion of geographical divisions in the provinces was an additional mean of maintaining order and submission, without seeming to exact them. The dioceses, the intendancies, the jurisdictions of the parliaments, the military governments, the districts of the universities, and the limits of the ancient sovereignties united to the crown, had not the same geographical divisions. The foregoing authorities were not accumulated in the same circle. They were almost all eccentric. How could they have attempted uniform rebellion with a confusion of such a nature?

Such precautions and means rendered the French government extremely difficult. The king never called a madman, an enthusiast, a metaphysician, or a philosophicial reformer to the direction of affairs of state, with impunity. The most strange mistakes resulted from a choice

made with imprudence. The revolution was invented and accomplished by men of this description; whilst such men as Kaunitz, Pitt, and Bernstorff, who, weak only in their principles, possessed calm sense and sound understanding; Catharine II., Maria Theresa, and Frederic II., endowed by nature with great talents, have wisely preserved their states, in spite of abuses far more glaring than those, of which Necker, St. Germain, and other enthusiasts, have had the temerity to attempt the redress. One very essential point, which government never studied, and which it was impossible to point out, was, that by permitting the unconstitutional usurpation of several privileges, and uniting powers which nature ordained to be kept separate, they plunged the state into misfortune. Our kings had deprived France of the states-general, in order to sanction their laws and imposts; they had adopted the use of *lettres-de-cachet*, and after having destroyed the sublime constitution of Charlemagne, after having abased the *tiers-état*, after having excluded them from holding places of consequence, and after having surcharged them with taxes, they had fallen under the restless and unconstitutional inspection of the parliaments. To redress these abuses, they have dared to subvert every principle of our ancient constitution.

Although the French government had multiplied measures, to prevent for ever the return of leagues and *frondes*, and to place, relatively to them and their sovereign authority, every order of the state on the same level, and under the same submission, the history of the reign of Lewis XVI., well considered, is a continual wrestling, more or less solemn, more or less violent, between liberty struggling to burst from the shell, and authority that represses its efforts. To exist without liberty is, for France, contrary to the intention of nature; she may suffer for a while the constraint, with which power has address enough to shackle her, but the national spirit will soon break forth. The reign of Lewis XV. presents an uninterrupted picture of the efforts of public spirit against despotism. Liberty, under the military reign of that prince, so anxious to defend it, entrenched herself in every possible spot. She took post among the Jansenists, in the parliaments, and in the assemblies of the state-countries. If the king wished to prevent contests, if he annihilated or exiled the parliaments, or if he suspended the assemblies of the state-countries, all the orders of the monarchy successively revolted, and the princes of his blood abandoned the court, their proper element.

In 1788 we saw, with all its particulars, the unanimous insurrection against a second aboli-

tion of the parliaments. The nation expressed an invincible repugnance to that insignificant plenary court, which deprived the eleven parliaments of the prerogative of examining the edicts and commands of the king, in eleven provinces of France.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Mechanism of the French Monarchy previous to 1789—Of the Gallican Church, considered as a preserving Authority for the Regulation of Manners—Of the reigning Dynasty considered as the Guardian of the executive Power—France was the best constituted of all the Monarchies existing in Europe in the Year 1789.

THE Gallican church was considered, before the revolution, as a religious and political body, whose origin was more ancient than that of kings. Its laws, its government, its organization and faith, were, in the time of ancient Gaul, the only objects capable of striking the senses of our barbarous forefathers. The Franks, who were acquainted neither with literature, nor arts, nor the means of forming themselves into a civilized body, adopted from the clergy our hierarchical forms, and the national assembly of the Fields of March and May, of which the councils were the representation. From the primitive foundation of the monarchy, the clergy were the first order of the state; and, however dependent they might be on the royal authority, they alone, amongst all the

other orders of the state, observant of the rules of liberty, had retained the privilege of granting the king only such gifts as were ASKED FOR, DELIBERATED ON, AGREED TO, LIMITED, GRATUITOUS, NOT TO BE CONSIDERED AS PRECEDENTS FOR ANY FUTURE SUPPLIES, AND EXCLUSIVELY ASSESSED BY THE CONTRIBUTORS.

The Gallican church, considered as to its political utility, possessed another power, of which the revolution has deprived it. It was the promoter and encourager of morality, the fine arts, the rites of religion, and the instruction of the people. Its ceremonies and form of worship required temples, statues, paintings, and every kind of ornament, which constantly supported the arts flourishing in Rome at the time of its institution. Islamism destroyed them in Asia and Africa; the Roman religion preserved them in the West.

Without the instruction which religion alone could convey into the remote parts of our provinces, and which has followed population even into the bosom of our mountains, the people of France, and of every country in Europe, would be as uncultivated and barbarous as those of Arabia have become; and such is the necessity of an enlightened religion, *friendly to humanity*, that France must renew, in favour of the villages, those ancient offices, which consisted in instructing the people, comforting the unfortunate, fortifying the

minds of the dying, calling men to the recollection of the Almighty, speaking in the name of the invisible powers, to enforce the duties of good fathers, good sons, good husbands, &c.; or, in a few years, she will see her peasants converted into hordes of savages, unknown to our fathers, and ignorant, ferocious, and brutal, as the beasts which they command. The subjugation of such a people would occasion the state an incalculable expense; and the difference of their manners from those of other European nations would be an inconvenience, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen, as the evil would be without remedy.

Christianity, being possessed of books reputed sacred, the authority of which is unshaken, is become, in Europe, the best adapted form of worship for the preservation of manners: and while great men and governments are incessantly employed in corrupting the people, this protecting institution tends to support them.

A government, which should dare to usurp the regulation of manners, would be more tyrannical than one that shackled the administration of justice; and if philosophy reproach, with so much reason, one of the orders of the state with having formerly abused the religious power, when it was not watched and limited, what have we not to fear, when we see the regulating power of manners in the hands of government?

France, more than any other European nation, had at length so effectually circumscribed the activity of the first orders of the state, that the pope, who was their established chief out of the kingdom, had not, according to our Gallican liberties, the least political influence within the realm. France was the only country in all Europe, that, without separating herself from the head of the church, had preserved towards him a liberty truly republican, equally distant from the independance of protestant nations, and from the absolute submission of those of the South; such as Portugal, Spain, Naples, Austria, &c. When we wished to disobey the pope legally, we appealed to a future council; and no decrees relative to discipline were admitted, until their agreement with our laws had been proved; insomuch that those of the council of Trent, as far as they related to discipline, were never received in the kingdom. The clergy of France, the parliaments, and all the orders of the state were so much attached to the liberties of our church, that the whole nation was constantly upon the watch against the zeal of the court of Rome. The popes themselves respected the liberties of the Gallican church to such a degree, as to have no connexion with the clergy but through the medium, and with the concurrence, of government; while our bishops, on their part also avoided, a correspondence on

indifferent affairs with the church of Rome, otherwise than through the channel of the minister of the king's houshold, or the minister for foreign affairs. The revolution is the only occasion on which, for many ages past, the pope has had a direct communication with the clergy, despoiled, irritated, persecuted by the *tiers-état.*

The ancient French government, thus preserving the national morals, had done their utmost, from the foundation of the monarchy, to steer the state clear of revolutions. Our national history taught us, that the catastrophes, which formerly happened to our governments, had been the most cruel and terrible scourges, that France ever experienced. The state was so perfectly convinced of the necessity of remaining as it was, that, in order to avoid a precipice often ideal, it erred in an opposite sense; and for a century past advanced towards despotism, forgetting the prerogatives and privileges of the *tiers-état.*

As long as the executive power was elective, France was inundated with blood. A new revolution stained our history at the end of every reign. After enduring evils of every kind, under that form of government, she confided the executive power to a dynasty. From that time, it is true, she suffered the inconvenience arising from the various and opposite characters of our

kings; but she was also relieved from the sanguinary effects of revolutionary proceedings. Disgusted with intestine commotions, she at length established her fundamental laws for continuing the crown in hereditary succession; and the remembrance of former disturbances, together with the view of neighbouring nations delivered over to the tempests excited by every change, imprinted these laws so deeply in the hearts of Frenchmen, that they were constantly and regularly observed. *The king never died in France*, according to the terms of the law. So that, in the month of December, 1789, there were twenty-seven males of the house of Bourbon in France, Spain, and Italy.

This order of succession was not without very considerable inconveniencies; but the danger fell upon him, who was invested with the regal dignity.

Danger on the part of the immediate successor, and on that of ambitious persons attached to him. The passion for dominion is so strong, that it armed against the life of the good Henry the friends of his consort. The faction of the legitimate princes, as some are of opinion, accelerated the death of the great dauphin and the numerous posterity of Lewis XIV.; and what has been said, to throw the odium of the crime of Damiens on the dauphin, father of Lewis XVI., is well known.

Dangers on the part of collaterals. The house of Orleans, from the earliest periods of its existence, had been thought to covet the possession of the crown. It was accused of having destroyed the posterity of Lewis XIV. The reports in circulation respecting the ambition of the last prince of that family cannot surely be forgotten.

Dangers on the part of foreign powers. They have ever been so attentive to observe the political inclinations and opinions of the successors to the crown, that they have frequently been suspected by the reigning monarch of plotting against his life, either with the motive of breaking a coalition, forming an alliance, or accelerating a treaty.

Hence the succession to the crown was accompanied with dangers so well known to each monarch, that his character was often changed by the impulse of fear, and he became incapable of holding the reins of government. Hence Lewis XIV. fell into a kind of apathy, and nullity of character, on observing the destruction of his posterity; and thought, that the only method of saving his own life was, to surrender every thing to the management of his secret consort and his confessor. Lewis XV., after his assassination by Damiens, became incapable of thinking or acting; and fear would probably have stained his character with cruelty, if madame de Pompadour,

who at first had fed his alarm to get him into her power, had not perpetually diverted and softened his torments.

Happily, after the assassination of the princes, the council of state observed it would be more prudent and safe to remain quiet, and conceal the crime, than to probe it to the bottom. For the same prudent reasons they would not closely examine the other murderers. In punishing crimes they were careful to conceal the invisible hand which instigated them, and punished the perpetrators by accusing them of fanaticism.

Whilst history attests, that out of eleven kings and dauphins who lived from the time of Henry III. to that of the father of Lewis XVI., three kings have been publickly assassinated, and three killed by poison, government never ceased to declare, and positively assert, that France ever idolized her sovereigns. The policy of England, perhaps, was more profound. Two assassins, the one a soldier, the other Margaret Nicholson, aimed at the life of the king; and the unpunished attempts were attributed to lunacy.

By the above accounts we see, that the manner of succession was more perfect in France than in any other monarchical state.

In Russia, where the monarch's will regulated the inheritance, there was scarcely a crowned head, for many years past, that was not exalted

or deposed by a sanguinary revolution. In Poland the elective crown, at each monarch's death, was adjudged by a civil war. In Germany the emperor negotiated the succession of his son with the foreign powers; but France, in 1740, set up one of her creatures in opposition, and the army favoured his election. In England, and in other kingdoms where the throne is hereditary, the change of dynasty had convulsed and might still convulse the state with the contentions of two parties, two families, and two competitors.

In France, on the contrary, the crown once placed on the head of Henry IV. passed to Lewis XIII., Lewis XIV., Lewis XV. and to his successor, without the smallest interruption; which convinced every honest mind, that France, among all the other European monarchies, had at length found the most perfect mode of royal successions.

Such was the political constitution of the monarchy. We shall now proceed to examine the mechanical constitution of the revolution.

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

NINTH EPOCH,

OR

The ephemeral Establishment of the constitutional Monarchy of 1789.

The deputies of the nation assembled, before any one had time to reflect on that political event; before any one had time to prepare his mind for so great a circumstance. This consideration will account for the first cause of the faults of the monarch, of the court, of the government, of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the tiers-état.

NECKER, on the French Revolution.

The constituent assembly were convinced of the imperfection of their work. Liberty was not secured by it, since authority had no sure foundation. They had deprived the throne of all its splendour and dignity, and of every thing capable of making any impression on the minds of the people. The king, whom they had again placed thereon, was just released from shameful captivity. . . . They had merely paid a timid and illusory homage to property. . . . . .

LACRETELLE, *junior*. *Historical Summary of the Revolution.*

ANALYTICAL AND METHODICAL TABLE

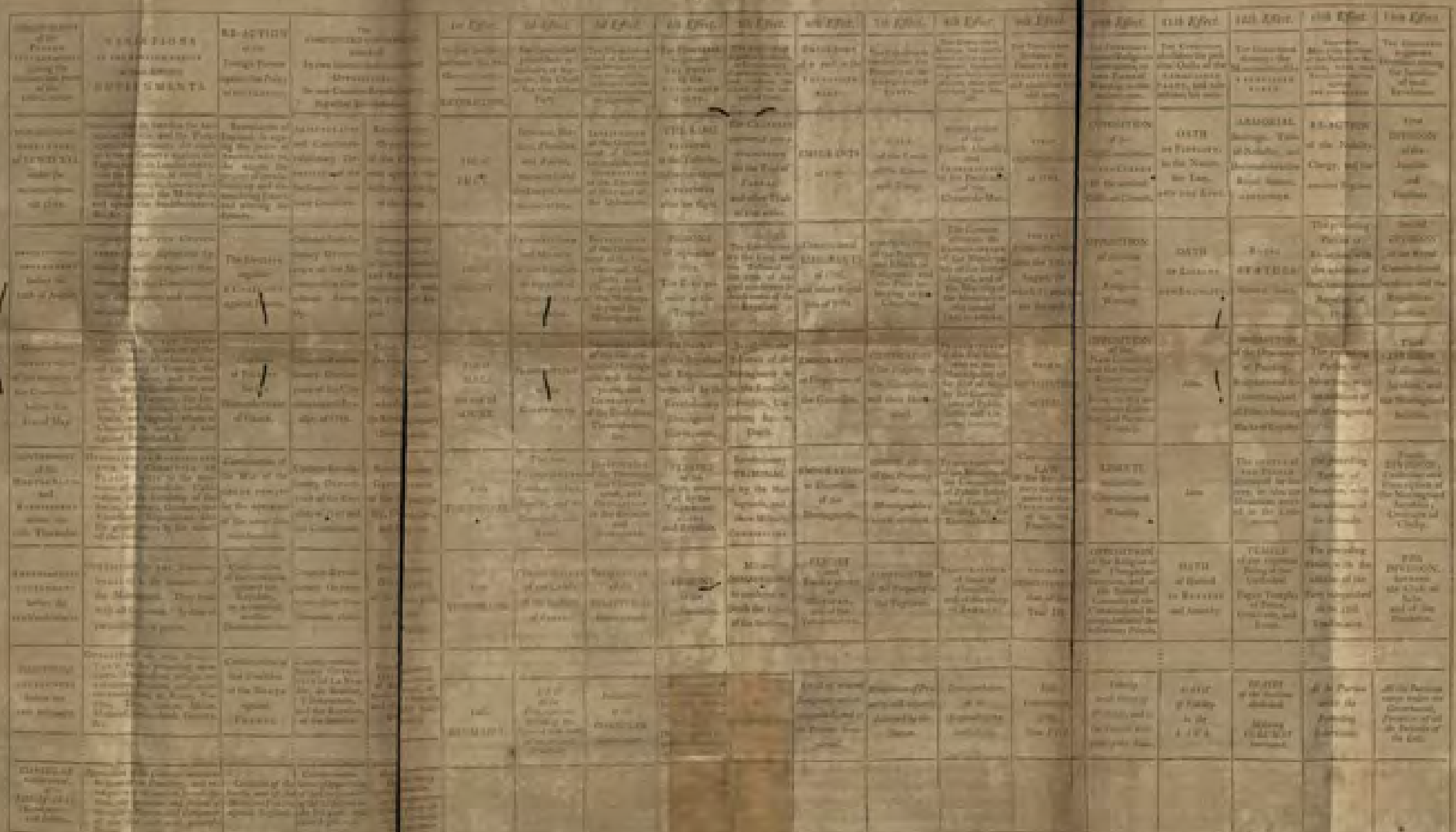
OF THE

MECHANISM OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE FALL OF THE ANCIENT REGIME, ON THE 14th OF JULY, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONSULATE.

In which is continued, in the First perpendicular Column, the Chronological Succession of the Several Governments successively established in France during the Troubles and Crimes of the Eighteenth Century;—in the Second Column, the Violations of their Fundamental Laws;—in the Third, the Conduct of the French Powers towards France;—in the Fourth, the Operations of the Counter-Revolutionary Opposition;—in the Fifth, those of the Revolutionary Opposition;—and, in the Following Columns, the Positions and/or Operations of those different Governments in the Revolution;—The Operations of Justice and Moderation, tending to put a Stop to the Revolution, and which have rendered the French Nation the most generous, Brave, and the most Unfortunate People in the Universe;—The Operations of the short Reign of the Law, and its Suppression by Mere Chicanery.

Intended as a Supplement to the Six last Years of the Life of LEWIS XVI, and to the Months of the Reign of that Prince, by J. [illegible] 1795.



To face Page 61, Vol. II.

CHAP. I.

Analytical and Methodical Table of the Mechanism of the French Revolution, from the 14th of July to the establishment of the Consulate—The Revolution composed of several Revolutions or Falls of Government—Revolutions of the Constituents, Girondins, Mountaineers, Thermidorians, and of the Directorial power—They are preceded and conducted by the coexisting Hostilities of a Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Opposition—The Transactions of July 14, August 10, May 31, Thermidor 10, and Vendemiaire 13, change the Government into Opposition, and the Opposition into Government—The conquering Parties, on those Days, massacre, proscribe, imprison, transport, plunder, and degrade the Vanquished—The whole Nation subjected to new Oaths, new Forms of Worship, new Laws, and a new Constitution.

AS the government of the French Republic, in the month of Messidor of the ninth year (the time in which I am putting this chapter of memoirs to the press) is composed of neither of the factions which have desolated France; as the odious parties, who decimated and plundered each other reciprocally, are no longer invested with the supreme authority; the time is arrived, to examine the depth of the misfortunes of France, and to analyze, for the benefit of future generations, the revolutionary machine, which, from 1789 to *the day of the transactions at Saint Cloud*, was in-

cessantly creating constitutions, committees, or revolutionary tribunals, and introducing unknown religions, iniquitous or capricious oaths, and ephemeral establishments. These latter objects, which obtained the assent of weak or credulous men, were objects of secret derision to the enlightened.

When we speak of a revolution in France in the singular number, we make a strange mistake. A revolution is the fall of a government and the substitution of that which succeeds it. It is the change of opposition into government, and the metamorphosis of government into opposition.

There have, therefore, been six revolutions in France; because there have been six governments; namely, the constitutional government overturning the ancient French monarchy on the 14th of July, and terminating on the 10th of August, 1792.

The Girondin government, consisting of the majority of the convention, commencing at the end of the second legislature, and ending on the 31st of May, when the Mountain decimated the convention.

The mountaineer government of the minority of the convention, commencing on the 31st of May, and ending on the 10th of Thermidor, when the Mountain decimated itself and recalled the outlawed Girondins.

The Thermidorian government, commencing on

the 10th of Thermidor, and ending the 13th of Vendemiaire.

The Directorial government, commencing in the eighth year, after the victory of the 13th of Vendemiaire, and ending by the affair at Saint Cloud; after which a new order of things begins in the republic.

It was by intolerance and selfishness, that these different revolutionary families, which have governed France since 1789, were overthrown and destroyed. By accusing one another of attachment to aristocracy, royalty, republicanism, or moderation, each of these different parties decimated, transported, destroyed, and pillaged their opponents; and each day of revolution was preceded by sanguinary contests.

The Constituents detested both the ancient *régime* and the Girondists, together with the other factions who continued the revolution. Hence, at the time the people were shot in the *Champ-de-Mars*, they first armed the ancient *régime* against itself. At the same period they armed the Orleanists and republicans.

The Girondists detested the *Feuillants* and Mountaineers, their rivals. Like the Constituents they were continually placed between two fires.

The Mountaineers looked with horror upon the Girondists and Thermidorian Dantonists, other-

wise called the Cordeliers. Thus the cross fire continued.

The Thermidorians, on the 10th of Thermidor, by an extremely well-combined party stroke, conquered the Mountaineers.

Each of these parties, on arriving at the government, found itself between two oppositions; the one revolutionary, the other counterrevolutionary; this situation was perpetually the destructive principle of all their proceedings.

It is impossible, in fact, that two contraty but coexistent oppositions, assailing one government on the right, while it is tormented by another contemporary opposition on the left, can rule over the people with tranquillity and success. No government is without opposition: its stability even results from this check, which the collective national force may easily subdue. While France has fallen from revolution to revolution, merely because all dependance on the law was deranged by the vehemence and resistance of two great powers in a state of oppression, the restless popular interest, and the tyrannical interest of the destroyed ancient governments; both of which required a place in the order of affairs, or else a cessation of the torments inflicted by a government incessantly cruel and hermaphroditical.

Nevertheless, each of these revolutionary go-

vernments never failed to make use of the words *liberty* and *equality*. They wrote them at the head of their public acts, and on their memorials. They insulted and honored them at the same time. Fury snatched the reins from fraternal equality, and tyranny usurped the place of liberty.

1st. *Equality* was no more.

The families before-mentioned not only proscribed the two neighbouring families between which they found themselves placed in chronological order; but each family was divided into petty tyrants, and pretended great men of the day, whom we have seen usurp the right of life and death, the power of proscribing, imprisoning and putting their fellow-citizens to death, and seizing their property and that of their children.

2d. *Liberty* was no longer in existence. Self-love had made so great a progress, and the rage for dominion and for the preservation of the temporary government had rendered the preponderating factions so irascible, that no one was permitted to hold a different opinion, to appear in a different *costume*, or profess a different form of worship, from that of the Girondists or Mountaineers, when either of those parties were in power. At every period of the revolution a diversity of cries, as harsh and uncouth as those in use among barbarous nations, were heard in every corner of France. *Live free or die* was become the cry

of 1792, an epoch when it was absolutely necessary that we should live free, in the sense of the free men who ruled over us, or die. *The constitution, the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution*, had been the anterior cry, and they burned the palaces of the royalists, or shot the republicans in the *Champ-de-Mars*, who would not acknowledge that constitution. The Thermidorians substituted the word *humanity* for that of *death*, which the Mountaineers had written every where, and it was in the name of humanity that the Thermidorians shot the Mountaineers both singly and in groupes, after having employed their muskets and grape-shot in common with them, as brothers and friends, ever since the year 1788.

A very remarkable similarity of events, in each revolutionary family, must singularly engage the attention of posterity. A revolutionary day was in fact nothing more than a decisive blow, to determine which of the two parties *met face to face* (to make use of their own expression) would gain, I do not say the victory, but the government.

Before the 14th of July the question was, whether the court would dismiss its menacing troops, whether the Constituents would repress the suburbs, whether the three orders would deliberate separately or unite in one assembly, whether roy-

alty would retain its support, or unite with the people by destroying the intermedial ranks, or, in fine, whether the patriots or aristocrats would destroy it. The two parties in these weighty contentions strike each other with reciprocal terror. The *tiers-état* are relieved from their painful and critical situation by the transactions of the 14th of July.

Before the 10th of August the Jacobins and Feuillants had mutually advanced to that state of terror, which ever presages a revolution; the court were not aware of the secret and extreme dread, with which the republicans and revolutionists were seized, when they saw the enemy's troops approaching the French territory; they did not consider to what lengths the revolutionary party, tormented by fear, might proceed; whilst the latter could not observe the cruel and tormenting uncertainty of the court. The republicans and Orleanists, therefore, as the Prussian and Austrian armies drew near, called in the handful of young men from Brest and Marseilles, who, by a *coup-de-main*, and without obstacle, imprisoned the king and his family.

Before the 31st of May the Mountaineers and Brissotins were also arrived at such a point of hatred and discord, that they openly declared, the ultimate end of their furious dissensions was merely to prove, which of the two factions

should have the power of exercising the guillotine. This contest produced the first revolution of the national assembly. They had unanimously abolished royalty; they had unanimously declared the king culpable; and now, divided into Girondins and Mountaineers, they directed their destructive energy against themselves, and one part devoted the other to dungeons and to the scaffold.

But the turn of the Mountain party, victorious over the royalists of 1788, the Feuillants, the Girondins, and the Cordeliers, soon arrived. The revolutionary machine, like an alembic which loses its spirits and dries up, was now nothing more than a shapeless figure, without life or activity; it was reduced to a mere carcase deprived of feet and hands. In this situation it still inspired the greatest terror, and called itself *the sleeping lion*. Already, before the 10th of Thermidor, they had so far mutilated themselves, as to condemn to death the municipality of Paris and the Cordeliers, who, from the time of the king's journey to Mont-Médi, were the first to propose the republic. This new act of cruelty, committed against their own body, accelerated their destruction. Their reign, after having continued about a year, at length being left without any support, except that of a few unskilful and vulgar subalterns, terminated by

the transactions of the 10th of Thermidor. Robespierre, chief of the tyrants, perished by the hands of those, with whom he had acted on the most celebrated of the former occasions. Thus the revolution was daily devouring itself.

There are two essential remarks to be made in this revolutionary progress.

The first is the concordance and friendly progress of the united factions during the ascendancy of the revolution.

On the 14th of July the *Constituents*, the *Girondins*, the *Cordeliers*, the *Mountaineers*, and the suburbs of Paris, go hand in hand without knowing it. These four parties were not then distinguished by their respective denominations; but formed a mass under the general title of patriots.

But on the 10th of August the Girondins abandon the party, a political schism becomes manifest: they lean towards the royalists, and the Mountaineers continue the revolution.

On the 10th of Thermidor a new schism broke out. The Thermidorian Cordeliers secede from the Mountaineers, subdue them, open the prisons, set at liberty the royalists and Girondins they had committed, and in order to overwhelm the Mountaineers their companions with war and revolution, they coalesce with the royalists and the *Gironde*.

Such is the result of the establishment of poli-

tical homogeneity and equality in France. Such was the consequence of the destruction of the negative powers, that our ancestors, in their long experience, had wisely established as a barrier against the acts of barbarity, which equality tends to encourage, and of which we find no example but in the first ages of monarchy, when the axe and the hangman were, as in Fez and Morocco, and as in France in 1792, 1793, and 1794, the instruments of the executive power.

It is remarkable in the history of the principal events of the revolution, that the passions developed therein were never equalled for energy and obstinacy. Nothing can express the dreadful sensations of the two factions met face to face, on the eve of a commotion. On that day he who had taken an active part in the disputes of the times, had neither friends, parents, wife, nor children. The faction to which he devoted his exertions was the only divinity he adored, and to which he was blindly about to immolate himself. On that day the Frenchman was in a kind of intoxication or frantic fever. He was utterly incapable of listening to the dictates of reason. A victorious soldier after a battle embraces a vanquished enemy, dresses his wounds, and administers consolation. The revolutionary conqueror was still in a state of delirium, and incapable

of honour or feeling. We have seen men of distinguished birth and education coolly preside at the massacre of their fellow-citizens; and the populace spontaneously execute their orders with a ferocity to be met with only among remorseless cannibals.

After the 13th of Vendemiaire the chiefs of the sections are shot. After the 10th of Thermidor, Henriot and eighty-two municipal officers are led to execution by virtue of a decree. After the 31st of May the principal partizans of the the *Gironde* are proscribed or imprisoned, and their chiefs decapitated. After the 10th of August the municipality, alarmed at their own proceedings, put the prisoners to death, and the convention proceed with the trial of the king. After the taking of the Bastille, Berthier, Foulon, Flesselles, and Delaunay are executed. These revolutionary executions of the aristocrats by the patriots, and of the patriots by the patriots, were the work of a people celebrated for their humanity. The massacre of the vanquished party was not the only effect of the victory. The conquerors must have revolutionary tribunals and prisons at their service. The zealous Thermidorian, the zealous Mountaineer, and the zealous Girondin enjoyed the terror of their enemies; they boasted of the power of their party, and menaced with it their opponents. When the name of *revolutionary tribunal* became execrable to all the factions, they

had recourse to *military commissions*, to exterminate the leaders of the party who had escaped the day of action. Who would suppose, that the constituent assembly, supported by the suburbs, by the national guard, and by the aggregation of all the revolutionary powers, had created a petty tribunal, a kind of committee for establishing a dastardly terror, to hang *Favras*, for simple projects? It was a fatal precedent, which led us on to those tribunals, that were one day to immolate royalists, republicans, and the intermediate moderatists, without distinction.

This same avenging fury dictated to each conquering party the law of seizing the property of the vanquished; and death itself was insufficient to appease their merciless brutality. Hence the confiscations of the property of the clergy, deprived of the legislative power established in their body. Hence the sequestration of the estates of the nobility. The defeat, annihilation, and plunder of the fallen party, could not disarm their pursuers; they could not be satisfied without stripping their children to the skin, and reducing them to the most absolute poverty: the party was to be entirely exterminated.

As to the mass of the French people, peaceable observers of these strange events, the ambition of the successful party went so far as even to wish to govern France by a new form of worship, by

new laws, and, above all, by a new constitution.

It had seemed truly laughable to observe the monarchy, in the last periods of its decline, endeavouring to establish its credit by an exhibition of its accounts. The oftener this was repeated, the less public confidence was excited. It was the same in the revolutionary constitutions since 1789; the oftener the democrats adopted the same plan for the support of each revolutionary scene, the more they undermined the revolution. The constitutions of the Constituents, Girondists, Mountaineers, and Thermidorians, instead of staying the revolution, continued it. In swearing to observe them, Frenchmen only ridiculed and despised them. The Constituents supposed, by establishing a constitution, that they should be able to subjugate the royalists, whom they had ill-treated, and the republicans killed by their orders in the *Champ-de-Mars*. The Girondists and the Thermidorians thought of subjecting the different parties, without asking their assent to the deed by which they were enslaved; and the Mountaineers wished to govern by a constitution opposite to all interests and all opinions: that is to say, each reigning faction endeavoured to establish a fixed existence in the state, whilst the bulk of the parties was

repugnant to it; and from this opposition of the majority to these ephemeral constitutions it arose, that each dissatisfied party destroyed a chapter or fragment of it. What order, then, could result in France from an act perpetually assailed by ill-treated, excluded, or dissatisfied parties?

It was nearly the same with the revolutionary oaths. And nevertheless it could not have been forgotten, when the ridiculous oath of hatred was ordained in France, that the anterior oaths of the factions had been nothing more than useless formulæ. The Constituents, Girondins, and Mountaineers had invented and proposed oaths, which each revolutionary event rendered superannuated.

I shall now proceed to make some analogous observations on the revolutionary forms of worship substituted for the national religion. Mirabeau thought he planted the cross, as he termed it, at the head of each department. A curious founder of religion! He had forgotten, that the mother church and the cathedrals established in Gaul, before France was in existence, the saints, the inclinations of the people, and the ancient institutions, were founded on anterior localities. Notwithstanding the party of the Mountain abolished the constitutional form of worship, the remains of the antecedent Roman religion and of that of the protestants; notwithstanding Chaumette erected the temple of reason, Robespierre that of the

Supreme Being, Reveillère those of the Theophilanthropists, and the Directory the temples of youth, peace, and other pagan denominations; France, under calmer administrations, has upreared her ancient altars.

The conduct of the populace of the suburbs of Paris claims the utmost attention of the observers of our transactions. The Thermidorians, who had excited to revolt, and conducted to all the posts and all the dangers of the revolution, the men of *the 31st of May, the 10th of August, the 5th and 6th of October, and the 14th of July*, united, after the 10th of Thermidor, to the royalists and Girondins readmitted into the convention, imprisoned, vanquished, and disarmed, on the 2d and 3d of Prairial, the most strenuous patriots of those suburbs. This operation, repressing in the populace its hatred to the rich, gave the latter an opportunity of taking breath. Before the 3d of Prairial the suburb of St. Antoine had marched so often against the capital, merely because the capital had not marched against it. That class of people despised the persons of property, because their will was of no effect. They presented their menacing petitions, because the writings of the philosophers and fomenters of discord had rendered them an object of worship. In fine, people without property were become powerful only because its

possessors were pusillanimous. They therefore construed the silence of the French proprietaries on the proceedings of the mechanics of the suburbs, into an adhesion to the different democratical constitutions; they valued oaths as sincere promises; they looked upon the joy of public festivals as proofs of consent to the measures of the citizens of St. Antoine; whilst the true power of the nation was among the proprietaries, and among the principal merchants and manufacturers, to whom the errors of the revolution could not be agreeable. This revolution daily grew weaker, and by degrees fell to pieces, in proportion as the monied interest felt its consequence, when the mechanism of the insurrections of the suburbs had been strictly examined.

The revolutionary transactions of the people of the suburbs were so little agreeable to the general wishes of the nation, that the victorious party, who had seized the reins of government, were obliged, on the morrow of a revolutionary day, to destroy the instrument of victory, in order to stay the operations of the mechanics of the suburbs.

Hence the Constituents dissolved the French guards, whom they had excited to revolt. The majority of the Gironde, after the 10th of August, dispersed the commune, that had directed the suburbs; and the Mountaineers proscribed the

Cordeliers and the municipality, who had conducted the populace on the 31st of May. Each victorious party thus strove to abolish the power from which it received the government, that it might deprive any competitor of the same resource, until the French nation perceived how unworthy it was of her to submit to the fury of a handful of mechanics, and to the laws of a few ambitious people belonging to this class or fraternity, who had learned the art of exciting them to rebellion, and leading them on to assassinations. But, before this factious popular force was thus neutralised, several years had elapsed, several revolutions had been effected, and the parties, who courted the populace to make them subservient to their inclinations, still filled the minds of the proprietaries with fear, insomuch that they are scarcely yet recovered from their painful sensations.

CHAP. II.

Recapitulation of Anecdotes relating to the Nullity and Versatility of the King's Character—Versatility during a Revolution destroys every Kind of Government, and saves Individuals—Character of the Constituent National Assembly—Party of Lafayette—Party of Orleans—Developement of the Character of Orleans and of the Court in this Situation of Affairs.

IN the course of these memoirs the nullity of character of Lewis XVI., and the versatility of his decisions have been sufficiently evinced. We observed him examining profoundly the question of state relative to the return or definitive ruin of the parliaments exiled by Lewis XV., perceiving the advantage of annihilating them, and subscribing to opposite measures. We have witnessed his exiling Mr. Necker, adopting prejudices against his probity, suspecting him capable of traversing the operations of the minister of finance whom he did not like; and yet recall him to the administration. The archbishop of Sens, who was better acquainted with men than things, and one of the king's *valets-de-chambre*, plainly developed the character of Lewis XVI., by informing us that he was timid enough to dread,

that Mr. Necker should come to a knowledge of the opinion he entertained of him.

In short, we have seen that monarch undetermined how to act between the insurrection of the people and the opposition of his troops. He adopts the advice of Mr. Necker, to unite the three orders into one assembly. The same day he listens to the council of the queen's party, and resolves upon the distinction of the assemblies. He again exiles Mr. Necker, and again recalls him. He issues orders to the troops of the *Champ-de-Mars* favourable to his military force, in consequence of the decisions of the palace of Marly, which the duke of Liancourt, on the following night, annihilates. He fears to appear abroad; nevertheless, he summons up resolution, proceeds to the town-house, and accepts the cockade of the people in arms against him.

This wavering and uncertain disposition of Lewis XVI. was the primary cause of the fall of the ancient monarchy, and of the constitutional monarchy. The attention he sometimes paid to the advice of Maria Antoinetta, and the deference he sometimes showed to the opinions of Mr. Necker, left the state without an open opposition to watch, and deprived it of the aid which governments derive from the body of the people, whose opinions and affections were ever versatile under the sway of weak sovereigns. The usurpation of authority

by the opposition, and its furious proceedings in getting into office, wore out the government. A similar policy ruined the last of the Vallois; and the conduct of Lewis XVI. annihilated two monarchies in France in the course of three years.

In effect, the opposition had no sooner conquered the military power of the king; Lafayette had no sooner organized the national guard, that is to say, the army of the revolted people, to keep the king's troops at bay; than the ancient monarchy, with its forms and ceremonies, the mode of worship of the king, and the religion and institutions of the state, disappeared at the name of the nation. Some were insulted with ridicule; others oppressed, destroyed, or calumniated in the eyes of the people; and all were seized with that fatal terror, which was one of the causes of the revolution. Authority passing from the ministerial departments into the committees, the national assembly annulled all the ancient powers. Formerly the monarchs, by an abuse which proved so fatal to Lewis XVI., exercised them all; the national assembly took them all away. The opposition usurped the government and the first posts of the state. Government itself was then acting the part of opposition; but as the latter were armed, as they had declared themselves constituent, exclusively representing the sovereign, and as they had the treasury and the troops at their disposal, is it astonishing, that, in

quality of sovereign legislators, they caused both a social revolution and a revolution of government?

France, in passing from the monarchical state to democracy, and in declaring the principle of equality, instantly experienced the inconveniences of the metamorphosis. The regulating power of ambition being annihilated and confounded in the national assembly, it was soon replaced by popular energy. We then perceived the power of interest and violent passions succeed to the authority of the annihilated institutions; the clergy and nobility were excluded from state affairs. They fell under the influenee of the parties of Orleans and Lafayette; and popular force and factions began to rear up their heads in the midst of the French democracy.

The duke of Orleans, who had sworn to the queen never to submit to the descendants of Coigny or Fersen, resolved to observe his oath. It is in vain for his party to deny their intrigues and ambitious designs: for from the house of Orleans itself we have learned the before-mentioned anecdote of that prince's oath. Resolved to involve the queen in ruin, he was not able to perceive, any more than the princess, that, equally inflexible in their plans of revenge, both the queen and the first prince of the blood were ruining each other. To gain his point, the duke,

who had excited the first popular revolt, continued to stir up the suburbs.

In the national assembly his party supported all the democratic opinions and systems, which were calculated to keep France in a state of disorganization; in the army every mean was used to attach the soldier, not to his officers, but to the present way of thinking of the *tiers-état*. There is no doubt but the duke of Orleans might have obtained from the people of Paris, and from the provinces successively, the crown of France, if he had been capable of putting himself at the head of the insurrections by one politic stroke; so much were they convinced of the king's incapacity to reign, and of the wickedness of the queen. But he had a private opinion, with which few persons were acquainted: he imagined that the progress of the revolution would call him to the throne, and that it was better to wait the event in quiet, and assist nature instead of recurring to violent methods. He brought up his children in the most popular form of democracy; the eldest established a jacobin club, in which were assembled all the most zealous partizans of their house; and this young prince, accepting the office of doorkeeper, or censor of the hall, in the grand club, testified how sensible he was of the favours of the people, and how much he delighted in associating with the lowest classes in France.

The party of Orleans was tempered by that of Lafayette. It is essential to observe, that the national assembly, still wavering in their affections, had scarcely met, when they divided their favours between Orleans and Lafayette. The latter was nominated commandant of the national guard of Paris; Orleans was elected president of the national assembly. Nevertheless, the affections of the two personages were already known. It was obvious, that M. Lafayette was exerting himself to establish liberty under a mild king, and that M. d'Orleans was working for the same purpose, but with views not so pure. Although these two opposite popular parties had already considerably weakened the power of Mr. Necker, the latter knew how to prevent the effect of this presidency. He wrote the following very remarkable note to the king:

"The duke of Orleans is nominated president, but on his word of honour he is to give in his resignation to morrow; and the archbishop of Vienne will be elected in his place.

"The answer which your majesty made yesterday has been reported this morning, and applauded with acclamations.

"The king's letter to the archbishop of Paris has had prodigious success."

M. de Lafayette expressed his sentiments to the king in an affectionate manner, wishing to

serve his majesty and the cause of liberty. He was one of the first partizans of the wavering system, which ruins all governments in revolutions, and saves individuals. He was the first to find, that an intermediary situation chosen by the leader of a party is the post of ruin. The author of the declaration of the rights of man, and of the massacre of the democrats and Orleanists in the *Champ-de-Mars*, with the purest intentions, and with an ardent love of liberty, which he had helped to establish in America, could not maintain his ground; persecuted by the party of Orleans and by the republicans on one part, and on the other by the royalists of the ancient *régime*. The day after he was nominated commandant of the national guard, he wrote to the king:

"SIRE,

"The circumstances in which I found myself were so pressing and so unexpected, that I conceived it a duty to my country, and to my king, not to refuse an employment, which gave me the unexpected means of exercising my zeal. Impelled by this imperious duty, by the opinion of the members of the national assembly who were with me, and by the hope of contributing to the reestablishment of order, I hoped at least to appear before your majesty only to intreat you to listen to the motives, by which my conduct has been actu-

ated. The fermentation of the capital, the satisfaction of saving the lives of some of my fellow-citizens, and all the duties to which I have ventured to sacrifice myself, did not permit me yesterday to lay at your majesty's feet an exposition of every thing I have observed, reflected on, and conceived it incumbent on me to attempt. At present, sire, as you have announced yourself at the capital, I would rather remain a prey to the regret of not having hastened into your majesty's presence, than to lose a single moment which I can employ in your service. The letter I received from the duke of Rochefoucault, sire, appeared to me an order not to quit this city, or else a permission to wait here for your majesty. In a situation that is more astonishing to myself than to any other person in the world, I shall find myself inexpressibly happy, if your majesty deign to examine my heart, and find therein the sentiments of gratitude and devotion, which will be eternally engraven thereon,

I am, with respect,
SIRE,
Signed LAFAYETTE."

The nature of the events from the 5th to the 6th of October gave Lafayette's party a considerable superiority over that of the duke of Orleans. The fault of the latter was his obeying the order given

him by the other party to withdraw himself to a foreign country. The revolutionists, witnessing the exile of their chief, were confirmed in the idea they had already conceived, that there was a kind of cowardice in his character, which prevented him from showing himself in a critical moment; and Mirabeau abandoned him.

The court, by giving a diplomatic mission to Orleans, proved, on its part, that it possessed no kind of authority, or even courage to attempt a stroke of extraordinary policy: it negotiated the retreat of a factious leader, instead of commanding it. It had recourse to impediments and petty deceptions, instead of taking an active part in the events of the times. It had the finesse tacitly to persuade the duke, that it was desirous of creating him duke of Brabant; so that the prince was caught by the bait, and flattered himself, that, by such an addition of power, he should be more able to accomplish the destruction of the French court, which had used this mean artifice only to deceive him. The most leading revolutionists observing the nullity of Lewis XVI., every moment becoming more glaring, had taken advantage of the 5th and 6th of October, to engage the people to conduct the king to Paris. He there became the honorary prisoner of the two parties; of that of Lafayette and the constituent royalists, who guarded him, and wished to fix

the unsteadiness of his decisions by keeping him in their power and under their eyes; and of that of the Orleanists, who were not aware, that by continually insulting him they no longer abased Lewis XVI., arrived at the last degree of abasement, but that it was royalty which they daily delivered over to the ridicule and furious insults of the revolutionists, whom the progress of events changed by degrees into republicans.

The nobility and clergy having lost their legislative power by the union of the three chambers, the aristocratic party of the national assembly became idle spectators of these parties and transactions. Since the army of the *Champ-de-Mars* had been dispersed, and the Bastille destroyed, their opposition only made worse, instead of better, the democratic motions and laws. The majority of the assembly soon voted for the exclusion of both clergy and nobility; and an act confirmed what the revolution had already declared. The king's ancient army was without power: the people alone were armed with cannon and above 500,000 muskets, to defend the work of the revolution.

CHAP. III.

Interests and Character of the Members of the Constituent National Assembly—They seize the Reins of Government—The Government pass into the Opposition—Portrait of the National Assembly by Lewis XVI., the Cassander of the Nation—He reproaches them with destroying the Monarchy—He declares, that the Metaphysical Systems introduced into the Government are incapable of becoming Rules of Administration—The King's Flight—He is taken and brought back to Paris—He accepts the Constitution—Twelve Constituents, crowned with Laurel at the Convent of Jacobins, continue the Revolution.—The Revolutionary Orleanists and the Republicans shot at the Altar of the Country—Amnesty.

THIS is not the place to write the history of the gradual decomposition of the monarchy by the constituent assembly; it is sufficient to remark, that the clergy being represented therein by rectors only, the Gallican church could not fail to be crushed. A few bishops elected by chance were more detrimental in the assembly, than useful, to their body. Beside this, some of the nobility having gone over to the party of Orleans, and others to that of Lafayette, the *tiers-état*, doubly represented, had constantly the majority. It was composed of distinguished lawyers, too much persuaded that they could govern France by their

eloquence, of secondary lawyers aspiring to overturn the high magistracy, and of lawyers from the heart of the provinces, who succeeded in creating for themselves administrative employments independent of the general direction of the state; it was composed, in short, of a great number of deputies without property, scourges of the ancient monarchy and of the constitutional monarchy they were about to establish. The destiny of the state was thus dependent on the affections of an assembly interested in abasing and governing it. Happy had it been, however, if the constituents, in destroying the edifice, had been able and willing to erect another worthy of the French nation, which they plunged into total ruin; but our first legislators were too attentive in substituting themselves for the agents of the ancient regime, and too careless in consolidating the employments of the new government. Eighty rectors became bishops, without being able to establish a regular clergy, or make proselytes to their new systems; and the lawyers became magistrates, liable at every moment to be deprived of their offices, and unable to find a fixed situation for the exercise of their functions.

The military class alone, rising to superiour situations on the ruins of the ancient monarchy, was purified and brought to perfection. These

men, to whom we are indebted for the unity and indivisibility of France, which England and thirty conspiring potentates had resolved to humiliate, divide into lots, and reduce to a secondary nation, rising from the station of private soldiers, by degrees attained to the rank of superiour officers, from which they were formerly excluded by the unjust vanity of the ancient *régime*. Distinguishing themselves by submission and valour, they slowly rendered themselves capable of commanding, at some future period, our country, which the obstacles of false policy and illusive metaphysical reasoning daily rendered more miserable.

The great errour of the constituent assembly consisted therefore in its haughty reserve, and in its hatred to all kinds of social institutions existing in Europe ever since the fall of the Roman empire for the interior repose of nations. In its enthusiasm for liberty it imagined, that its administrative institutions would sufficiently supply the loss of the others. It was even ignorant of the distinction, which the nature of things had placed between the administrative and social institutions, whence France had derived that long tranquillity, that long succession of ages, during which she had been either the principal nation of Europe, or one of the preponderating powers. The national assembly also imagined, that, by uniting all the authorities, they would be adequate to those

which had been annihilated. It knew not, that from the national character of France the power of restraint was the most essential of all, in good as well as in evil; and as its doctrine in politics was that of puritanical metaphysicians, a doctrine destructive of every nation that listens to it, the national assembly could find no boundary to this system of reform. The king was the only person, that could have limited it, since he was the only equally administrative and social authority, that would have been respected; but instead of attaching itself with affection to this power, still capable of counteracting the intrigues of potentates abroad, and of the partizans of despotism at home, the monarch was continually insulted and disturbed; his putting himself at the head of the revolution was of no effect, as he had not approved of the subversions of the assembly. He was, as it were, a prisoner in his own palace; and was allowed no other guards than those of the nation, under the orders of the commandant of Paris. One morning Paris was alarmed with the intelligence of his escape, and that he had left behind him a kind of manifesto, an exposition of his grievances. We must examine his own account; for he is the Cassander of his country. He would never listen to the remonstrances of his clergy or parliaments, when they represented, that he suffered the monarchy to be un-

dermined by depravity of manners, and by the progress of philosophy; and now that he supplied the place of both clergy and parliaments, he was speaking to an authority equally inflexible. A government inaccessible to just observations is the scourge of nations.

The king observed in his manifesto, that he had thought no sacrifice too great; that he had hoped for the reestablishment of order in the operations of the national assembly; but perceiving that his sacrifices were only followed by the ruin of the kingdom, by anarchy, by the violation of property, and by impunity of crimes, without being able to repress, by the shadow of authority he held from the constitution, the evils which desolated the kingdom, he conceived himself obliged to protest, *in the face of France and of the whole world, against the acts issued by him during his captivity*, and to publish an explanation of his conduct, and of that of the government which had just established itself in France.

Amongst other grievances Lewis complained, that he had been deprived of his body-guards; that they had made the king a kind of prisoner in his own state; that they had seduced the French guards, formerly the model of fidelity; and that they had excluded the king from the constitution, in despite of the instructions which each deputy had received from his constituents. He com-

plained, that they had taken from him the domains, which his ancestors had attached to the crown, and which were superiour in value to the sums allowed by the law for the expenses of his household. He said, that having no active part in forming the laws, being robbed of the right of granting pardon for offences and commuting punishments, a prerogative every where attached to royalty, the regal character lost, in the eyes of the people, one of the principal means of supporting its dignity. He complained, that the administration of the interiour was entirely placed in the hands of the municipal officers of the districts and departments; that the choice of all the authorities was in the people; that the measures of government were void, and that the whole system wanted unity. The popular societies, on the contrary, not being responsible, spread themselves from the capital into every city, by way of filiation, deliberating on the affairs of government, forming decrees, and bringing over to their principles the judiciary authorities, the administration, and even the national assembly themselves. *We may perceive, by the spirit which prevails in the clubs,* said Lewis, *and by the manner in which they influence the new primary assemblies, what is to be expected from them; if any disposition appear in them to revert to the ancient order of things, it is only to destroy the remains of royalty, and to estalbish*

a metaphysical and philosophical government, totally impracticable in its execution.

The king observed, that a government cannot be kept in motion without confidence between the administrators and the people; and that the kingdom was now organised so as to create a general mistrust of the government. He declared, that he had only sanctioned the decrees because he had learned by experience, that contradictory debates were at least of no effect.

"Frenchmen," said the king, "was this what you intended, when you sent your deputies to the assembly? Did you desire, that the anarchy and despotism of the clubs should be substituted for the government under which the nation has prospered during fourteen hundred years? Love for the king is one of the virtues of our nation.... Frenchmen! and you, particularly, Parisians! whom my ancestors were pleased to term their good subjects, do not give credit to the suggestions and lies of your pretended friends. Return to your king, he will be ever your father, your best protector. What pleasure would he feel in forgetting his personal misfortunes, and beholding himself in the midst of you, when a constitution freely accepted by you shall cause our holy religion to be respected, establish government upon a stable basis, uninterrupted in its measures, preserve the property of individuals, prevent the laws from

being infringed with impunity, and consolidate liberty on immutable foundations!"

The king avoided complaining of the duke of Orleans; but when he was arrested at Varennes, speaking in a few words to the municipality on the sense of his manifesto, these words escaped him: "I have been forced to quit Paris, where the duke of Orleans had conceived the design of taking my life."

Nothing could equal the resentment of the revolutionists, when they heard of the king's escape. Dumont, the English emissary, and Genevese anarchist, whose party the king had ill-treated in 1782, an emigrant to England, a pensioner of that power, and a journalist at Paris, was the first to articulate the words *French Republic*. He united with Condorcet, Brissot, and Duchâtelet, to propose its establishment. The national assembly, on the contrary, knew how to calm and repress, with great prudence, the popular resentment; and what completely characterises the disposition of the majority of the assembly is, that it zealously contended with the republicans, Cordeliers, and Orleanists, to soften the asperity of the constitution, already become disagreeable to the manners of Frenchmen, and to attach Lewis XVI. to their interests. The king had pointed out its defects, and experience has sufficiently shown that he was not unacquainted with

them, since the nation has not been able to exist either under Lewis XVI., or under the governments which succeeded to his authority, with the principles of the constitution of the first national assembly.

The king having been arrested and brought back, under great humiliation, to his prison of the Tuileries, the most peaceable members of the assembly thought it their duty to make some sacrifices, in order to attach him to the constitution. Lafayette, Barnard, the two Lameths, and others, uniting in spite of their rivalries, tacitly coalesced with the aristocratic party, and by a small majority made several retrenchments in the constitution. Who could suppose, that a dozen patriots, crowned with laurels at the convent of the Jacobins, dissatisfied with the revision of the constitution, were able to overturn it, and begin the revolution?

Lafayette, Bailly, and the revisors, committed one great fault before they separated. Thinking to stay the progress of the revolution by force of arms, and to terrify the Orleanists and a few republicans assembled in the *Champ-de-Mars* to demand that the king should be dethroned, they animated, instead of subdued, the revolutionists of the times, completely dissatisfied with the measures of the national assembly. Criminal prosecutions were set on foot;

and the people whom the constituents had appointed to execute their revolutionary plans were prosecuted by their employers. The leaders of the party fired upon in the *Champ-de-Mars* passed from a state of terror to the humiliating situation of men pardoned by amnesty, and confounded with the royalists. Hence began the fatal professions of the Feuillants and the subsequent governments, who have all affected hatred to royalty and anarchy; forgetful, in their blindness, that there was no government, but, in the sense of the vanquished parties, was an organized anarchy. Thus, detested both by the revolutionists and by the royalists of the ancient *régime*, the revisors felt their influence decrease. The capital and all the parties were anxious to see the legislative body renewed. The assembly, at their dissolution, thought they had established a constitution; but they had left nothing more than a revolutionary institution, which was about to experience the fate prophesied by Lewis XVI. when he departed for Varennes.

It is in the above sense that the constituents were *anarchists* in the eyes of the king.

That the Girondins were anarchists in the eyes of the royalists of 1788, of the Constituents, and of the Girondins.

That the Mountaineer Cordeliers of the party of Danton, and of the municipality of Paris, were anarchists and ultrarevolutionists in the eyes of

the royalists of 1788, of the Constituents, of the Girondins, and of the Mountaineers in office.

Such, then, was the deplorable destiny of the French people, deprived of the ancient social institutions by the laws of equality, and by the constitution of 1791. Hatred and revenge had been formed into a system. All social regulations were destroyed; the state, reduced to a few administrative institutions, was no more than a ruin, and imagined itself regenerated, when the social dissolution made the most hasty ravages; when the Constituents shot the Girondins, when the Girondins attempted to proscribe the Mountaineers, when the Mountaineers carried the proscription into execution, and when the adverse parties united for the destruction of the common enemy. If, amidst this disorder, there had been found one preserving institution in France, one association for the suppression of hatred, all honest minds would have blessed it. The revolutionists, on the contrary, misled by the opinions and whims of the times, went to the scaffold blessing the destructive principle which conducted them to it, and cursing the protecting principle which ensured peace to contemporary people. Europe, terrified at our social disorganization, observed in silence the fatal disorder, and strove to profit by it.

CHAP. IV.

The legislative Assembly and the Jacobins of 1792—Continuation of the Debates between the two Parties—Feuillant Party—Jacobin Party—Views of England and other foreign Powers—Cause of the War of 1792—Brissot conducts the Affair of the Declaration of War—Perplexities of the Court—In their Terror they name a Jacobin Minister—Declaration of War against the Emperor—England introduces some Genevese, her Pensioners, into the Administration, and into the Intrigues of Government—Fall of the Jacobin Minister—The Party of the discarded Administration excite the People of the Suburbs to revolt, and introduce them to the King's Apartment, where his Majesty receives the red Cap.

WE may already guess the future fate of Lewis XVI. That prince found himself abandoned amidst the ruins of the ancient monarchy, and deprived of every support necessary to that form of government. The constituent national assembly, almost entirely composed of disaffected persons of the three classes, with the exception of an impotent minority, had reduced the monarch to this situation; but satisfied with having deprived him of his power and prerogatives, they had not attempted to deprive him of life, or of his title of king. There were also in the three united orders some remains of ancient monarchi-

cal opinions, which prevented the execution of the attempts of the party of Orleans, so often tried, and as often frustrated.

The second national assembly not being taken, like the former, from the three classes, but from the mass of the people, and from the least wealthy part of them, was entirely democratic. The former had been misled from its commencement by Mirabeau and some obscure counsellors, born in the heart of Genevese seditions; such as Dumont, Duroveray, and Clavières.

The second assembly was seduced by the chiefs of *la Gironde*, Vergniaux, Guadet, and Gensonné, and by Brissot and Clavières, who continued to rest their power, like Mirabeau and Orleans, on the commotions of the suburbs. It was in vain that the legislative assembly possessed a majority, who wished the constitution to be religiously observed; the minority, composed of *la Gironde* and a party faction, which since formed the mountain party of the convention, continuing their revolutionary measures, declared to France and all Europe, that matters were not terminated. The dispositions of the suburbs, and the turbulence of the Jacobins, were far from predicting the most prosperous times.

The Jacobins of this period were not the same as those of 1789. The Noailles, the Lameths, the Crillons, had not acted together since their divi-

sion into revolutionists and constitutionalists; or rather since the *Jacobin-Feuillants* had shot the *Jacobin-Jacobins* at the altar of the country. The latter, domineering in the capital, became daily more untractable, irascible, and savage. Péthion, elected by their influence, succeeded Bailly, whose manners were too gentle and timid during these revolutionary tempests.

The dispersed members of the constituent national assembly, faithful to the system of revision, attached themselves, on the contrary, to the majority of the legislature. They long continued to influence the measures of the court, the choice of ministers, and nominations to the different offices of the state. Thus, two parties were formed in the society and in the national assembly, by whom disturbances were fomented. The party of the Feuillants possessed the timidity of the royalists of 1788. That of the Mountain of the second legislature opposed to them an irascible disposition similar to that of the constituents against the ancient *régime*. The former party wished for the constitution of 1791; the latter, the party of *la Gironde*, has always appeared to me a compound of all sorts of personages, who possessed such a disorderly ambition for ruling, that any mean was considered as good, which served to accomplish their ends. We must, however, observe, that the Mountain of the convention has

long reproached the mountain of the legislative body of belonging to the faction of Orleans. The royalists of 1788, on the contrary, reproached the Girondists with having conceived the project of dethroning the king, in order to govern France under a regent, during the minority of the young dauphin. Nevertheless, it is a fact, that the *Girondists* wished to attribute to themselves the honours and titles of founders of the republic, after it was declared; but historical truth requires, that we should correct the boasting of this party, who, before the convention, manifested no other decided opinion than that of dethroning Lewis XVI.

With such dispositions, the legislative assembly, from its first opening, was torn by sanguinary contests, as was all the rest of France. If the directory of the department of Paris, composed of members of the first national assembly, issued decrees in favour of liberty of worship, the legislature, tormented by its minority, made severe and unjust laws against the priests who had not taken the oath, who, by the first assembly, had in that respect been declared free. If a decree were made against the princes, and to sequester their property, or if it condemned the emigrants to death, the king, by the advice of the ex-constituents, refused to sanction it. In this opposition of principles the section of Paris,

revolting against the toleration of the department, chose Manuel and Danton to support Péthion, mayor of the commune. Hence these parties and dispositions already announced to people possessed of penetration, that the second assembly, taken from the body of the people, would continue to proscribe and torment their fellow-citizens for their opinions; and the national assembly, on the observations of Péthion, mayor of Paris and one of the leaders of the Jacobins, declared against the club of the Feuillants.

The people of England were affected by our efforts for the conquest of liberty; but the administration of that country, smiling at the misfortunes into which their emissaries had plunged us, adopted methods to take us by surprise in the midst of our contentions. The monarchs of Europe, aware of the influence of the example, writings, principles, and manners of the French, on the minds of other nations, were terrified at the progress of democracy in France; and as the revolutionary Parisians talked of converting the universe to their antisocial doctrine, kings, haunted by the idea of their possibly succeeding, determined to repress the dangerous zeal of our enthusiasts. Seeing the first king in the world abased, imprisoned, and despoiled of regal splendour, they resolved to upraise his throne. The French peo-

ple, on the other side, displayed an audacious character towards all the powers, which impressed them with the fear, that their novel manners, and the unfolding of a character strengthened by intestine dissentions, would add to the military and victorious energy of the nation. These powers were resolved to parcel out our territory. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had already divided Poland. *We shall not have occasion to harness a single horse more*, said M. Bischofswerder the *illuminé*. The balance of Europe was the pretext of these plundering kings. *France is too powerful*, said they; *we must therefore annihilate her, and divide her territory.....Poland is weak; we must erase her from the list of sovereignties.* What a lesson do these motives and projects exhibit to governments! The potentates, since humiliated by the republic, have denied, in the course of negociations for peace, the existence of their senseless speculations against us. Lewis XVI., however, had given the legislature direct intelligence of it.

All that was wanting in Europe was a plausible pretence, to declare war against France. If Austria began first, the life of the queen would be endangered, and she would be accused of inviting that power to her assistance. If England first expressed her inveterate hatred by acts of hostility, her govern-

ment would render itself unpopular; the French revolution was still pleasing to that part of the English people, who smile at the sight of monarchs embarrassed by an opposition. The two nations were not then exasperated. Brissot, when England wished, two years before, to destroy the commerce of Spain, had exerted his utmost ability, although in a subaltern situation, to prevent the national assembly from supporting the family compact, and to oppose by force of arms the war, which England was about to declare against the court of Madrid. Now that England was fanning the flame of discord in the European cabinets against the French, Brissot, directed and persuaded by Duroveray, Clavières, and the rest of the English emissaries, who had influenced Mirabeau, was the man that took upon himself the odium of declaring war. Debating in the Jacobin societies against the opinions of Robespierre's party, who opposed it, he supported the necessity of such a measure so far as to render himself unpopular. He denounced, in the national assembly, the ministers for foreign affairs, Montmorin and Lessart, who were too mild in treating with the court of Vienna. Soon after he wrote and delivered speeches against the alliance of 1756, onerous to England whenever she wishes to declare war against us, and profitable to

Austria, who ever takes advantage of our contests. Dumont, Duroveray, Clavières, and other adventurers of that class, whom Lewis XVI. had banished from Geneva, and whom England had received into favour, and insinuated into our busy factions, were agents of an *English committee*, who formed the design of accusing the queen, and a few courtiers who still remained faithful to her, with being agents of an *Austrian committee*. Thus a handful of vagabonds, banished from their own country, following the steps of Brissot, were about to change the face of the universe by a declaration of war. The sentiments of the court of Vienna towards France were not fully known. There was still a great probability, that it might make some direct arrangements with the court of France, to counteract the plans of England. Austria wished to prevent the revolution, and England, who had begun it by means of Mirabeau, continued it by Brissot and the same agents. Austria might not declare war against France, whom she had not attacked since the war of 1701, whilst France had declared it in 1731 and 1741. The possibility of an arrangement was afflicting to England; as the Austrian plan of subduing the revolution destroyed her project of annihilating the navies of France, Spain, and Holland, of dismembering the French empire, and reducing it to such a state as thenceforth to

be unable to annoy the English possessions as she had done in the war of 1778.

The court of France was in a cruel perplexity; ministers who temporised like Montmorin or Lessart were placed in a state of accusation, or obliged to resign. On another side, no minister dared to espouse the plan of Brissot, and make a declaration of war. The administration was now no more than a dangerous post, which already filled the dungeons, until the parties of Danton and Robespierre, then indistinctly heard at a distance, could arrive to throw open the still obstructed passages to the scaffold. The last friends of the king, Duport-Dutertre and Molleville, were persecuted and denounced on every side. There was but one step from the denunciation of a minister and an Austrian committee to the impeachment of the queen; and Brissot and the *Gironde*, who wished for a declaration of war, threatened to denounce Maria-Antonietta. A criminal process was dependant for the forgery of assignats; and Brissot threatened to accuse her of having been the author of them, if she refused to nominate a patriot administration. Roland, Servan, Clavières, and Dumouriez, were therefore appointed ministers, under the denomination of the *Jacobin administration*. We imagine that we have proved, in the 5th volume of these Memoirs,

that Clavières was an agent of the British cabinet.

This man, who, in the course of the present volume, has been seen imprisoning his own government at Geneva, banished from his native country by Lewis XVI. and two other mediatory powers, (the court of Turin and Switzerland) as a leader of the incendiaries, had made offers to the court of London to revolutionize France. England, as we have already observed, having nominated him, in concert with Duroveray and d'Ivernois, administrator of a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds sterling, granted to the Genevan party of anarchists; Clavières and Duroveray, since the latter had been established in the hall of the *tiers-état*, distributing notes relative to the conduct of the revolution, had incessantly agitated France, introduced themselves skilfully into situations at a moment of crisis, and influenced the policy of the state: and such was the terror which the Brissotin party communicated to the court, menaced by the most dangerous denunciations, that the king and queen, although they looked upon Clavières as the most consummate cheat, appointed him minister of the finances, which he had contributed to ruin by the introduction of assignats, invented by England, and communicated by that country to Mirabeau. Such, then, was the definitive destiny of Lewis XVI., that he

found himself obliged, for his own safety, to admit this notorious adventurer into his council; but the king, informed that England had, through his medium, a direct influence over his administration, only admitted him to prevent a momentary embarrassment, with a full determination to dismiss him as soon as circumstances would allow it. The English intrigue was so bold, that Duroveray composed the speech, which the king was to deliver at the national assembly on the declaration of war against the emperor*. In this manner did the secret intrigues of the court of London, by address, force, and terror, induce the court of France to declare that celebrated war! Undertaken particularly by England for the dismemberment of France, and by Austria for the reestablishment of the throne, those two great powers, deceived in their hopes, have themselves, by their false calculations, augmented the terri-

* A Genevese, says Dumouriez, a man of great sense, wrote a long discourse, containing a metaphysical discussion, into which the king ought naturally not to have entered. Another person composed a shorter. Dumouriez took both, and said he would lay them before the king. The consequence was a very severe dispute between Dumouriez and the Gironde, as well as between Roland and Clavières. They pretended, that Dumouriez should have concluded with a declaration of war. Dumouriez argued, that the king, having so many enemies, could not be too cautious, and that he should demand a discussion of the subject.

tory of France by one fifth part, and broken the crown they wished to place, as they said, on the head of Lewis.

The war was no sooner declared, than the denunciations against the court began to touch on their secret correspondence with the enemy. Servan, minister at war, was not capable of abandoning to them either the interests of the constitution or the territory; besides, he belonged to the party of accusers in this project. Brissot and Gensonné continued their accusations, and cited the Austrian committee. The queen, ever in opposition to the measures of the court, had, in reality, some persons near her, who partook of her sufferings, and seconded her views; but the intrigues of this party were so impotent; the royalists of 1788, (whose opinions were very different from those of the constituent royalists) were so disconcerted, and such a variety of projects were presented to the court, that the intrigues of that time will never form a chapter sufficiently connected or curious for the history of the revolution. The causes of the 10th of August are all recorded: they are contained in the ferocious petitions of the inhabitants of St. Antoine, in the proclamations and correspondence of the Jacobins, in the audacity of the Girondists before the 10th of August, and in their furious ambition for dominion, which induced them to adopt any means,

either foreign or internal, to succeed. To annihilate the empire of the queen, and dethrone Lewis XVI., were the principal objects they had in view. The king had nominated a constitutional guard, which they hastened to disband. Soon after they stopped the salaries, which had been granted to the king's brothers, whom they had before deprived, by a decree, *of any right to the regency*, and to the succession of the crown. Gensonné proposed a police of general safety, an invention renewed at Geneva by each revolution, and which was advised by Clavières.

Servan likewise proposed to some of the deputies the famous camp of 20,000 men. He continually protested, that he had no other interest in the measure than to assemble an armed force, which the march of the king of Prussia rendered so necessary. The court was alarmed by it; the queen termed the intended camp *an army of twenty thousand banditti to govern Paris.* The royalists, who expected the Prussians, were disconcerted to such a degree, that the celebrated petition of eight thousand was signed against the camp of twenty thousand.

The Jacobins of the party of Orleans imagined, that the court endeavoured to remove all obstacles to the approach of the Germans, that they had called them in to punish the revolutionists, and reestablish the king in his authority. Their

minds were so much irritated, that some very important event was expected to result from the debates, carried to the highest pitch of animosity between the Feuillant and Jacobin parties. On another side, the first operations of our armies were unsuccessful; which circumstance favoured the Jacobins, and gave them an oportunity to accuse Lewis, who was still a Frenchman, if he were not a constitutional Frenchman.

The Jacobin administration, neither willing to become unpopular nor to share with Lewis the dangers of complaint, were loud in their expressions of patriotism. Dumouriez appeared affected with the king's situation; Roland and Clavières still conducted themselves towards him, the former as an inflexible opponent, the latter as a cheat. Servan, in whose character the king was mistaken, wished to preserve the constitution.

Lewis at length resolved to dismiss them; and to accomplish this design, he adhered, in his confusion, to means of execution advised by Dumouriez, one of the members of the Jacobin administration. Madame Roland, who had not been able, by the insinuations of her husband whom she governed, to induce the king to sanction the decrees on the emigrants and priests, composed the famous imperious letter to the king, which threatened him with another revolution. "The resistance of the throne to the wishes of the people,"

said she, "will make it *necessary*." She affected an air of prophesying, counselling, and conducting the destiny of the state. She expatiated on the utility and necessity of the execution of those two decrees. The king, inflexible in not sanctioning them, already contemplated in the page of history the last misfortunes of Charles I. The abolition of Episcopacy, which that prince would never abandon to the presbyterians, had been the principal cause of his sufferings. Lewis XVI., therefore, dismissed Roland, Servan and Clavières, by very laconic notes. Roland carried the letter to the legislative body, who approved of his conduct: the assembly exclaimed against the king, and declared, that the dismissal of the ministers was a matter of regret to the nation. Meanwhile, the chiefs of the Gironde were preparing an insurrection. Clavières, who had learned the art at Geneva, and who had indicated the means to Mirabeau, taught it also to the chiefs of the Gironde, at the expense of England. The terror with which they inspired Lewis had been the cause of their elevation; the same terror, more enlightened, dismissed them; and they had again recourse to terror, to recover from the prince's displeasure.

Note on the Camp of 20,000 men.

In the beginning of June, 1792, the minister Servan had a plan in agitation for the reinforcement of our armies, by recruiting in all the departments of the kingdom. This plan was divided into two branches.

The first was a levy of a certain number of national volunteers in each department;

The second was the formation of a camp of reserve, to consist of 20,000 men, to be raised also from the departments, and intended to reinforce our armies against the Germans, as occasion required, and to keep Robespierre in awe at Paris, who wished to subvert the government and destroy the throne. This army, therefore, was to be assembled in an intermediary position between Paris and the frontier.

Some members of the military committee coming to press the minister, to accelerate the operations for the augmentation of our armies, Servan endeavoured to pacify them by disclosing his views, which, he said, could not be entirely determined for some days. These deputies lost no time in communicating the information to the military committee. Immediately Coustard, one of their members, who proposed the formation of the camp on the 6th of June, mounted the rostrum at the assembly, as if it had been the minister at war, who had insisted on such a prompt measure. It was instantly adopted, and decreed the next day, in spite of the opposition of the Feuillant party. The king, to whom the minister at war had not communicated his plan, which was not then ready, unjustly suspected his minister of criminal intentions. The enemies of the latter, particularly Dumouriez, left nothing undone to incense the king against him. Servan had not at all wished to hasten the issuing of the decree; his intentions were pure, both as to the king and as to the public

tranquillity; since his only object was to have a body of troops sufficient to suppress factions in Paris, and, in case of necessity, to stop the progress of the Germans. Robespierre, nevertheless, published a memorial against the establishment of the camp.

We may easily guess the situation of the public mind in this critical conjuncture. The first duty of every Frenchman was to repulse the enemy, and set on foot some armies of reserve. On the first proposal of these armies raised from the districts, the queen at once bestowed on them the title of an army of villains; the king opposed their assemblage; the Feuillant party feared their influence; and Robespierre wrote against the measure.

CHAP. V.

The 20th of June, 1792—Continuation of the Inquiries into the Characters of the King and Queen—Conference between M. de Chambonas and the Author of these Memoirs—Lacroix sells the Gironde to the King, which party proposes, through the medium of Brissot, the Adjournment of the Forfeiture of the Crown—Division between the Brissotins and Mountaineers—Insurrection of the Sections—Transactions of the 10th of August—Thuriot proposes domiciliary Visits and the Destruction of the Royal Statues.

WHATEVER party or system was adopted by Lewis XVI., the constitutional monarchy was so circumstanced, that every thing conspired for its ruin. Clavières and Roland accelerated it when in administration. In their disgrace they promoted it in the opposition. On the 20th of June, in concert with the principal partizans of the Gironde, they conducted the populace of the suburbs into the king's very apartment. The Girondins, the Brissotins, the Cordeliers, the Orleanists, and the Mountaineers together approved of this insult, and took a part in it; but the Brissotins alone paid for and invented it. The royalists of 1788 were in the utmost consternation; and the Feuillants were

in a state of impotent and insensible observation. A column of ragged artificers, armed with pikes, swords, sithes turned the wrong way on the handle, and all sorts of edged tools used in their different trades fixed to long poles, paraded through the capital, terrifying the citizens with their cries, and were preceded by two pieces of cannon. *We have got breeches*, said an inscription put over a rag which served them for a standard, alluding to the nick-name which had been given them by honest people, and of which they had become proud. Rœderer, attorney-general of the department, ventured to speak to the legislative assembly to call in the troops to defend the entrances to the palace; but the Gironde, who conducted the people, and protected their march, introduced some orators into the hall of the assembly. The popular orators complained, in the general tone of the petitions of the suburbs, of the *veto* affixed to the decrees relating to nobles and priests; they demanded their three patriot ministers, Roland, Servan, and Clavières, and permission to file off through the hall. The assembly listened, with a favorable ear, and without emotion, to the propositions of the army of the Gironde.

The court was plunged into the most extreme state of terror: it was deprived of its guards; and the constitutional troops established in their place were mere spectators of the trans-

actions. The people unhinged the iron gates without opposition, and burst open the doors of the palace with axes. A cannon was dragged up into the great apartments. A few royalists, disguised as mechanics, and armed with pikes, mixed in the crowd, watched over the life of the king, and observed with solicitude every movement; whilst the patriots laughed heartily at the monarch's uneasiness.

That prince, whom we have seen so versatile and weak in various difficult circumstances, exhibited on that day a firm and dignified character. Like a powerful king he refused to sanction the decrees, which he was fully determined not to execute. A deputy, perceiving that he was crowded on by the populace, offered him assistance. *The king is in no danger*, said he, *when he is surrounded by the French people. . . . . Feel*, said he to a soldier, *if my heart beat, or if I am afraid.* An artificer, taking off his red cap, presented it to Lewis, saying, *here, take my cap in token of fraternity;* the king himself helped to adjust it upon his head. They then brought some wine: one of the mob presented it to the monarch, and informed him there was nothing to fear, for he had drunk of it: *I can never entertain any suspicion of the people*, cried the king. At length the mayor, Péthion, having made his way through the crowd,

addressed the mob in a firm and imperious tone. At his command they dispersed.

The inhabitants of Paris, ashamed of having suffered this hideous column of the populace to parade about the city, had the courage, on the morrow, to sign the petition called that *of the twenty thousand.* Two hundred citizens, out of that number, would have been sufficient to disperse the unorganised shapeless troop; but the Parisian citizens, without resolution, confined themselves to the signature of a few observations. Lafayette observing the monarchy falling into ruins, left his army to make some observations likewise; it was also added, *to carry off the king.* The court placed so little confidence in this liberator, to whom they attributed their misfortunes, that they would no more venture to expose themselves to the scenes of the return from Varennes. Lafayette retired, after having animated afresh the revolutionary furies against him; and Orleans, who was neither a stranger to the revolt of the suburbs, nor to the conduct of Péthion, caused his effigy to be burnt at the Palais-Royal. That restless prince, still persisting in his system of apparent quietism, expected every thing to turn out in his favour from the nature of the times, and from his secret intrigues. He gave security for the sums, with which England abundantly supplied two bankers.

Meanwhile, Clavières was meditating a more considerable insurrection. The federation of the 14th July drew near. The Gironde, never losing sight of the plan of dethroning the king and establishing a regency, recruited at Brest and in the South a number of young men, burning with ardor for the revolution, and disposed from principle to undertake any thing for its success.

The Prussian army, on another side, advanced slowly, announcing to the people and cities as they passed, that they were marching into France to exterminate the Jacobins.

Thus, on one side, the Federaries were assembling from all parts to dethrone the king, whilst the Germans advanced to re-establish him in his authority. Lewis gave the legislative assembly intelligence of the march of the foreign troops; and the revolutionists accused him to the Jacobins of having called them in to punish his enemies and destroy the revolution.

The court remained in the greatest perplexity; but Lewis XVI., that weak and irresolute prince, for the first time displayed the greatest courage. The clergy were despised in every part; they were imprisoned, exiled and put to death; he alone supported his cause with magnanimity. Henry IV. had abjured his religion for the crown; and Lewis abdicated it to preserve his religion. The weak Charles I., refusing the presbyterians to sign

the abolition of the episcopacy, marched directly to the scaffold. Lewis, in imitating him, knew that he should share the same fate, and each day, as if to learn to die, he read a chapter of Hume and Rapin-de-Thoiras, studying the conduct of Charles I. Abandoned gradually by the princes of his blood, and by his aunts, wandering at random in Europe; having no other counsellor than a furious, woman who had helped to reduce him to this situation, and accompanied by his two angelic children, he was great and affecting in adversity. In this forsaken state, he with difficulty found a few men sufficiently attached to him to fill the places of administration; but he could meet with none capable of repressing the wild and revolutionary spirit of the times. The Jacobins, on the contrary, were completely united against the king. There were neither opportunities nor means of throwing among them the apple of discord. The court attempted to seduce them by presents; and I shall here exhibit a conversation I had with M. de Chambonas, minister for foreign affairs, because, condensed into a few words, it will depict the extreme situation of Lewis XVI. at that time.

M. de Chambonas. What do you think of our present situation? I wish to know your opinion. You will probably write some anecdotes on the occasion.

Soulavie. You are in the situation of the English troops, harassed during the seven years war by all our experienced generals, and at last by marshal Richelieu, who forced them to retreat to Stade, where he obliged them, either to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners, or to throw themselves into the sea, or to fight to the last man.

Chambonas. The comparison deserves reflection; but I am not of your opinion. The king has only to speak; he will be supported, and not reduced to the extremity you suppose.

Soulavie. The king has suffered himself to be subdued by the contradictions of the *notables*, by those of the parliaments and those of the state-countries. In doubling the *tiers*, he thought, that, as he obliged the people, he might rely on them; but he was still overcome. He was for a moment victorious in the *Champ-de-Mars;* but what was this ephemeral success? The vanquished party soon recovered their strength. Brissot, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Manuel, Carra, Péthion and Gorsas, who now domineer, are the chiefs of the party, which the Feuillans ordered to be shot, and who still recollect the danger. The fear with which one party impresses another during a revolution, is never forgiven. From that moment a contest, a mortal combat, prevails. The court has not

gained a single victory since that day. Observe how it fights as it retreats, losing daily a new post: I conceive it to be precisely in the situation of Stade. If our troops be still beaten, the king is accused of causing their defeat. In the meanwhile the Federaries arrive from the south and the enemy from the north. The party which calls in the Federaries says, that the court invites the enemy; and the court affirms, that the patriots call the Federaries to their support. I can see no remedy for all these evils; in fact, it is now too late; yet, if I could discover any, I would gladly point it out; the uncertainty of future events is dreadful.

Chambonas. I know a remedy; but it can only be applied by a person who is to be relied on, and who would not be suspected by the patriots. As you are anxious upon the subject, I will tell you what this remedy is. It is to gain over Brissot to us. You know him, and are intimate with him.

Soulavie. I have too little esteem for Brissot to be intimate with him; but if I could temper the disposition of any one, Chabot, for instance, or Fauchet, I should not hesitate; for these I have known for many years.

Chambonas. Brissot is the person we want, and we are certain that you are connected with him; the proofs are by no means secret.

Soulavie. I assure you, I have no kind of connexion with him, nor ever had with adventurers of his description.

Chambonas. Yet we are told, Brissot is continually praising a collection of historical memoirs written by you.

Soulavie. Yes, in order to send fifty copies of them to London; for which he pays me in assignats, while he is paid for them himself in shillings. His subalterns are right to praise a book from which they reap advantage.

Chambonas. You perceive then that this man is covetous. You must undertake to gain him over to us. It is not required, that he should abandon his opinions, but merely that he suspend his plan of dethroning the king. We have at your disposal a hundred thousand crowns. If this sum be not sufficient, offer him four, or five or even eight hundred thousand livres; but do not exceed that; we can go no farther. As to yourself, since you wish to travel, accomplish this business, and we will give you a mission to Russia, where you may employ your efforts to induce Catherine to remain neuter. You belong to her academy; and during your journey you will write the natural history of her states. You will study every thing relating to the administration and industry of her country. We cannot suppose, though she reject

Genest and our other titular agents, she will also reject a naturalist.

Soulavie. If I had the least hope of success, I would gladly devote myself to your service; but I conceive, that such an overture would not be acceptable to Brissot; and his suspicion of me would be so great in consequence of it, that you would afterwards not be able to gain your point by any other means. I will, however, faithfully keep your secret; and am of opinion, that if you were to impress Brissot with a fear of what may happen to his party, should the nation not adhere to his plan of dethroning the king, it would be more likely to have the desired effect, than any promises, however flattering. As to the offer of money, I am afraid that exasperation is arrived to such a pitch, that the desire of revenge and the unspeakable pleasure which the revolutionists receive from it, would cause your endeavours to fail: whereas if Brissot were told, that he is between two fires, between the violent jacobins and the royalists, that he might fail in his plans, and find himself in the same situation, for instance, as the revisors were reduced to in 1791, you may bring him over to your interests. Above all, impress him strongly with the power of the constitution, the majority of his enemies in the legislature, the change which every six months takes place in the ideas and public spirit of France, and

with the uncertainty, even if he carry his point, of opposing successfully the party of Orleans, unless indeed he be employed for them ; and if he be not, point out to him the difficulty of resisting the royalists of 1788, united to the constitutionalists attached to Lewis XVI., with Lafayette at their head.

Such was my conversation with M. Chambonas. A few days after, Brissot made his famous speech for postponing the operations against the king. Meeting with the minister again a short time after, he informed me, that all had been arranged through the medium of the deputy Lacroix, and that he thought well of me for my good intentions.

He then shewed me the little door in his garden, by which Lacroix was admitted to concert the scheme.

Brissot's change of language threw the jacobins into the strangest alarms. They consisted, at that moment, of the party of the Cordeliers, of Danton, Marat, Freron and Legendre, as well as of the party of Robespierr Those two parties were still very closely connected. The Girondins, no longer able to communicate their opinions to the assembly, or concert measures with them for the new system, retired to the house of the rector of St. Roch, where they were accommodated with a hall to

deliberate separately on the grand question of dethronement. The jacobins, on their part, stirring up the sections to revolt, Péthion undertook to lead them on to action. They declared, that the king had lost the confidence of the nation, and instituted the central court of *déchéance*.

Meanwhile, the Federaries arrived from Brest and Provence to second the patriotism of the Parisians, whom the southern departments accused of apathy. This handful of young men spread terror in every place through which they passed. They told the Parisians, who asked what were their intentions, *that they should not leave the capital till they had dethroned the* VETOYEUR. Clavières, Brissot and the Gironde had prompted them on; but the choice was so badly made, that their patriotism was discovered to be parallel, not with that of Brissot, but with the views of Legendre, Robespierre and Marat. The populace of the suburbs even were not on a level with those provencal Federaries in patriotism. "What have you done for your country?" said a Marseillois to a Parisian Cordelier; "you lopped off two or three heads on the 14th of July, and two or three on the 5th and 6th of November. You know nothing of the business of effecting a revolution; and we are come to teach you."

The Gironde was hesitating between the opinion of Brissot and the insurrection of the Fede-

raries. By consenting to the *déchéance*, that measure might fail; but by not acceding to it the Gironde became unpopular; for the Marats, Dantons, and Robespierres, conducters of the revolutionary movement, went on without hesitation. "Are not your daggers yet sharpened?" said Robespierre to the jacobins. "Let us read in these ardent and warlike youths the chapter of Brutus. I am sure, that we have as many Brutuses in France as there are Federaries; and they will learn how to proceed in this conjuncture."

The principal focus of the revolution was at the convent of the Cordeliers; but the chief mover belonged to a secret committee conducted by the duke of Orleans. Hence the signal was suddenly given to the sections, assembled at eleven o'clock on the night of the 9th of August. Legendre presided at that of the Luxembourg. A few minutes before midnight, his wife, alarmed at his conversation in the course of the evening, went to persuade him to retire. "What o'clock is it, my friend," said she to him, "that you stay so long at the assembly?"—"What o'clock is it!" replied he, taking out his watch, "why, it is the hour of revolution, and time for you to be at home." He then suddenly rose up, and gave the signal for insurrection. If we wish to know the spirit of the section of the Cordeliers, we have only to observe who were the personages deputed

to the commune. Reserving Danton and Legendre for great measures, they sent Robert and Simon, since guardians of Lewis XVI., with Billaud-de-Varennes. On the morrow they deputed Fabre-d'Eglantine, and two days afterwards Chaumette and Lebois, with unlimited powers to use any measures, which circumstances might render necessary. The principal author of these transactions was so strange to the Girondins, that Brissot, seeing the full powers and unanimous instructions given by the sections, undertook to ridicule them: "You will see," said he, "that their full powers will extend far enough to hang us." He not only said so; he printed it in his journal.

The court were in the utmost anxiety. The king was embarrassed. The queen, on the contrary, imagined herself arrived at the great day of explanation and victory. The king made dispositions to defend the palace, and marshalled the Swiss and a few faithful national guards, together with some noblemen, who hastened to his assistance. In comparing his force with that handful of revolutionists from Brest and Provence, who menaced the palace, the victory appeared probable on the part of the king. Unhappily for the court, his supporters were heterogeneous and divided. They were commanded by the old marshal de Mailly, capable of conceiving and do-

ing every thing necessary, if he had not been superannuated. He threw himself at the feet of the king, drew his sword and exclaimed, "Sire, you are the king of the brave. Your faithful nobility are emulous to establish you firmly on the throne of your ancestors, or die with you. Will you second their efforts?" "I WILL SECOND THEM," replied the monarch. These expressions were imprudent both in the marshal and the king, as, circulating from party to party, and from rank to rank, they disconcerted the infatuated royalists, still adhering to the ephemeral monarchy of the Feuillans, now about to be cut off from the face of the earth. The king, in reviewing his troops, might easily perceive, that their fidelity was not unanimous.

Rhœderer, attorney-general of the department, hastened into the presence of the king. Perceiving the want of confidence among the national guard, and consulted by Lewis, he advised the prince not to risk the dangers and consequences of defeat, but to retire to the national assembly as a place of greater safety. The king, taking this advice, departed for the assembly, through an incensed crowd of people, who vociferated the strongest imprecations against him. Arrived at the right hand of the president, he said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime. I shall ever think myself safe, as well as my family, under your protection." Vergniaud, the president, an-

swered in insignificant and oblique terms, which all the parties have misrepresented. Another deputy (Gamond) observed, that the assembly could not deliberate in presence of the monarch. Lewis, therefore, descends, for the last time, from the tottering throne he had divided with the democracy since the year 1789, and retires into the humble logographic box, where he finds himself a prisoner, and within hearing of the report of cannon destroying his palace. A sanguinary contest now commences. The people, beaten on the side of the river, are triumphant in the Carousel. They are re-animated at the sight of the blood of the patriots, and take the palace by storm. Some of the Swiss are massacred, some save themselves with the king in the national assembly, and a division of about eight, carried before the muncipality, are there murdered.

Already were Robespierre and Danton installed in the provisional commune. The impostor Clavières had repaired thither in quality of volunteer, to give a tincture of his spirit to the revolution. Skilful in the business of overturning a government, he had contributed, in 1782, to confine the syndics of Geneva, whom Lewis XVI. afterwards caused to be liberated by transporting him.

He now decided the imprisonment and fate of Lewis XVI.; but in a low and secret manner, like Duroveray in the hall of the *tiers-état* in 1789.

A little while subsequent to this victory, Thuriot, the enemy both of the living and dead, proposes the destruction of the regal statues; and in a few hours the *chefs-d'œuvre* of our arts are no more. Shortly after, he makes a motion for domiciliary visits, in order to fill the prisons.

CHAP. VI.

Transactions of the second of September, 1792, prepared in England—Marat executes and carries them on, in Quality of a Genevese Revolutionist, allowed, by the public Act and diplomatic Capitulation of the English Government, a Stipend for conducting the French Revolution, after the gradual Depreciation of D'Yvernois, Duroveray and Clavières.

WHAT historian will undertake to describe the minute transactions of the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th of September, 1792? And what man, possessed of feeling, could bear to read them?

I shall only observe on this subject, that if history reproach the national assembly with not repairing in a body to the prisons, to save the lives of the victims, or to attack the handful of banditti who murdered the prisoners; truth requires us to assert, that these assassinations ought only to be imputed to the minority of all the minorities of the factions existing at that moment in the bosom of France.

The constituents, though the enemies and first oppressors of the massacred royalists, since the year 1789, beheld those days with horror.

The constitutional royalists of the legislative national assembly, although passive and inert, were terrified and exasperated at them.

The Girondins, who formed the majority of the legislature, felt themselves equally hurt, with the exception of a few individuals who beheld the unfortunate people destroyed whom they had conducted to prison, and whose vengeance they had dreaded. Brissot, who had imprisoned the ministers for foreign affairs, accused of treating with Austria, was still at the head of *the mountain* of the legislative assembly, metamorphosed, since the 10th of August, into a majority. He observed as to Montmorin, that there was only wanting judiciary forms in this act of justice *of the people*; and asked, if Morande was not massacred.

Lastly, *the commune of Paris* of the 10th of August, to whom the direction of these transactions was attributed, contained no individual, excepting the party of whom I have just spoken, that did not revolt against the accusation of having any concern in them.

But in that commune were formed a company of assassins, who lay in wait *to save the country*; and Marat, their leader, organised a committee of police, a committee of public safety, to conduct the assassinations, conceived and suggested when he gave up his journal, when he disappeared from the French territory, and went to take

some lessons at London on the revolutionary government, which the enemy designed to establish in our unfortunate country.

Marat, born a Genevese, was one of the party banished from his country by the army of Lewis XVI., and by those of the court of Turin and Switzerland. A wanderer and vagabond, since that period, in France and England, like D'Yvernois, Duroveray, and Dumont, supported by the subsidy granted to this banished party by a capitulation, similar to those in use between sovereign powers of equal rank, the part he had to act was that of animating the French people against every establishment in France above his own level. D'Yvernois, in 1783, had privately intrigued against the ancient *régime*. Duroveray, Dumont, and Clavières, were against both ancient and constitutional governments.

Clavières had directed his shafts, in the same sense, against the king also. Marat, after having incensed the people against all the authorities of the old and new forms of government, and after having assailed all the orders of the state, continued the revolution by spreading the seeds of sedition among the populace, animating them daily by a number of his journal, and corrupting the manners of the lower class of Parisians, so mild and pacific in their nature, that, from the year 1778, having had my eyes upon them con-

tinually, I ought in justice to declare, transmit to posterity, and invoke every living thing to witness the truth contained in these terms: *Fourteen years of the reign of Lewis XVI., from* 1774 *to* 1788, *have passed over* without any insurrection of the people of Paris. They even refused to take a part in the sedition of a few hireling robbers at the time of the rebellion of 1786, under the administration of Turgot; and if there had not existed, ever since 1788, a system of revolt, constantly supported by two bankers paid by England, under the security of the duke of Orleans, the Parisians would still have retained their former character; but, it is evident, that from the moment one party begins to banish, imprison, or kill, by revolutionary right, any individual of a contrary faction, seizing at the same time his property, the whole mass of the faction feel themselves thereby exposed to transportation or the hand of the executioner. Hence the sympathy impressed by nature for our preservation, was become in France the principal cause of the civil war, from which we have just emerged.

The following documents will prove, that the transactions of the 2d and 3d of September, &c. were invented by Marat.

After the 10th of August, as well as after every revolutionary day, the victorious party immediately

had recourse to the tribunal instituted on the 10th of August, to try the vanquished.

Marat, in his journal, No. 680, of Sunday the 19th of August, 1792, page 6, recommends quite a different plan. The very day on which that tribunal was established, he declaims against the national assembly, and denounces to the people the moderation of their measures, and the slowness of their execution.

"I shall not hesitate," said he, "to expose the villany.... with which the legislative assembly compose this criminal tribunal of bribed jurymen and lawyers, the vermin of the bar, gangrened by aristocracy; I will assert, that they only took this step to procrastinate necessary measures, and defer the punishment of traitors to their country, until their chief, Mottié (Lafayette), arrive within our walls to rescue them: for it is generally believed, that he is marching at the head of his army against Paris. Is it possible to conceive, that the assembly have been ridiculous enough to order a particular uniform for the members of this tribunal? What, shall we wait till the judges, clerks, and accuser be dressed in pantaloons by their tailors, in order to punish the conspirators, which the enemy are coming to deliver?

"What is the duty of the people on this occasion? There are two plans which may be adopted.

"THE FIRST is to hasten the sentence of the traitors detained at the Abbey, and TO IMPRISON THE CRIMINAL TRIBUNALS AND THE ASSEMBLY; and if the traitors be not found guilty, TO MASSACRE THEM WITHOUT HESITATION, together with the new tribunal, and the villains who have issued the perfidious decree for its establishment.

"THE LAST PLAN, which is the wisest and most sure, IS TO REPAIR TO THE ABBEY WITH ARMS, BRING FORTH THE TRAITORS, particularly THE SWISS OFFICERS and their accomplices, and put them to the sword. How ridiculous, to think of trying them in a regular way! They are already found guilty. You have taken them in arms against their country. You have massacred the soldiers; why should you spare their officers?"

If we examine minutely the views and conduct of Duroveray, Clavières, and Marat, we shall discover not only their hatred of Lewis XVI., but also of the Swiss and the court of Turin, authors of the counter-revolution in 1782, which the three armies of those powers had effected at Geneva; whence proceeded the banishment of twenty-two democrats, and the mission of six wretches, whom the British government united with twenty Englishmen, and granted them a subsidy of 50,000 pounds sterling.

Finally I shall add, that a little time before the union of Geneva to France, the transported persons residing in England in 1782, returned to their country, and caused their enemies, who were not condemned by the tribunals, to be assassinated by the enraged populace: I speak of Pradier and the rest of the unfortunate people, victims of the exiled adventurers in 1782.

With the exception of some violent writers against Marat, few persons ventured to assert, at the time, that he was employed againt us by England. The minutes which I received at Geneva, all agree in stating, that Marat partook of the allowance made to the representatives by the government; that his atrabilarious character having dictated some violent writings against the government, he was driven from France, and returning from London into this second adoptive country, during the French revolution, his imagination was still heated against every thing which appeared higher than the populace; and he now only talked of killing the enemies of the people, *en masse*.

The sole support which Marat found in the month of September, was from a few individuals of the party of the cordeliers, with whom he formed those obscure committees of police and public safety, and concerted the execution of his massacres.

REIGN OF LEWIS XVI.

TENTH AND LAST EPOCH,

OR

The French Republic and the Death of Lewis.

Charles I., a good father, a good husband, a good master, and an honest man, but an ill-advised monarch, engaged in a civil war, which deprived him of his throne and occasioned his death on the scaffold, by a revolution, that is almost without example.

This war for some time prevented England from meddling in the concerns of her neighbours. She lost her consequence with her happiness. Her commerce was interrupted. The other nations of Europe thought her buried under her ruins, till she rose up all on a sudden more formidable than ever.

VOLTAIRE, Age of Lewis XIV., chap. II.

CHAP. I.

Immediate Cause of the Declaration of the Republic on the Day of the Opening of the National Convention—Disposition of the Factions in that Respect—Conference between M. de Montmorin and the Author of these Memoirs at the Committee of Inspection, where the former was conducted, and whence he was transferred to the Abbey. The Republic declared on the 22d of September, 1792.

ALL the French and foreign writers, who have attributed the metamorphosis of the French monarchy into a republic to some one or to several of the parties, that have agitated France since the year 1789, are certainly mistaken.

The Constituents, and the party called the Feuillans, were very far from desiring it. Their chiefs wished to govern France constitutionally under Lewis XVI.

The Girondins were equally averse to such a project. It is not from what they have said on the subject since the 10th of August, that an historian is to judge. The Girondins and the other parties, terrified with the respective ferocity of each other, were obliged to have recourse to falsehood, and hold the language of the times; and though the faction of the Girondins was a com-

posite of all sorts of opinions, the greater part wished for a regency during the minority of the son of Lewis XVI., to govern and destroy the queen, whose well-known counter-revolutionary schemes exposed, not only the political existence, but even the life, of the Girondins. My collection of prints contains instrumental proofs of this truth, in the division of caricatures of the civil list.

Robespierre, no more than the Gironde, had the French republic in view, even at the time he made his inflammatory motions in the year 1789. The setting himself up in opposition to all regular forms of government, and making himself formidable to all parties by great popularity, was his only policy. He endeavoured to conduct himself in such a manner, as to secure the government when all his equals should become unpopular.

Neither had Marat any idea of the republic. His journal, at different periods, expressed opposite sentiments. His system, like that of Robespierre, was setting his face against all kinds of regular governments, and the furious *mania* of forming conspiracies to punish them by assassination *.

* An evident proof of Marat's being nothing more than a sanguinary maniac, may be found in the 668th No. of his journal, for Sunday the 8th of July, 1792, fourteen weeks before the republic, under the head of, *The last Resource of Citizens.*

" What remedy," says he, in the 7th page, " is left at the

In the assemblies of the central committee, established before the 10th of August, and selected from the body of commissaries of the sections, to accelerate the deposing of Lewis XVI., when the question, of what could be done after that event, was brought on the carpet, the idea of instituting the republic presented by Xavier-Audouin was rejected by the commissaries, and even by Collet d'Herbois, who was the first to propose it on the 22d of September in the con-

present day, for terminating the evils by which we are oppressed? I repeat, that there is no other than POPULAR EXECUTIONS. After fifty years of anarchy, dissention, and misfortune, we must necessarily have recourse to it, if we are able for some time longer to stand up against the despots combined against us, and if we aspire one day to be free; with this difference, that a few drops of blood spilt *à propos*, in the commencement, would have nipped the evil in the bud; instead of which, to stop its course at the end, it is necessary to shed it in streams. If this salutary method had been adopted early, it might not have cost France a hundred criminal heads. By having neglected it, more than a hundred thousand innocent people, the flower of her children, have perished."

Marat terminates his article relating to the last resource of citizens, by proposing *a penetrating, firm, honest, and incorruptible leader: but where shall we find him?* said he.

"Must I inform you? You are acquainted with a man, who only aspires to the glory of immolating himself for the safety of the country: you have long observed him labouring for its interests; but I should be very careful not to suffer his disinterestedness to be suspected, if he could ever

vention. This committee, and the assembly of the deputies of the sections, decided, that the petition to be presented on the king's dethronement should be drawn up according to the forms of the constitution.

In the interval, from the 10th of August to the 22d of September, Péthion, who presided in the convention when the republic was declared, endeavoured to do away all idea and insinuations of a republic.

become the object of your choice, and if he had not himself lost even the hope of rendering service to your cause."

(Signed) MARAT, *the Friend of the People.*

In his paper of the 18th of July, 1792, this friend of the people, having gained over the federaries to his party, informs them what they have to do at Paris. But he mentions not a word of the republic; he merely tells them to demand,

The revocation of martial law, the decrees relative to inactive citizens, the veto, the inviolability of the prince, the royal commissaries, and the right of the executive power to nominate to offices.

He engaged them also to demand the *immediate* punishment of the persons confined at Orleans, the annihilation of the central court, the deposing of the officers of the department of Paris, and of the generals of the Rhine, as well as the staffs of the three armies.

If the assembly refuse, *the alarm must be given, in order that the nation, in the plenitude of its power, may abolish the fatal decrees, and provide for its safety by destroying its enemies.*

And finally he exhorts them to keep the king and his family as hostages.

Danton, Marat, and the Cordeliers, were, in the month of September, 1792, attached to Orleans. Marat had acknowledged, in his advertisements, the receipt of 1500 livres, which the party of the Gironde had refused him. That party had disengaged Orleans from the remains of the ancient monarchy, from the great men of the state, and from the prelates attached to Lewis XVI. exclusively.

The legislative body had recently uttered anathemas, and the Jacobins were constantly in arms, even a very little time before, against the project of a republic. Réal, a few days before the revolution of the 10th of August, had proposed a government somewhat similar to that of the United States

* Citizen Toulongeon is now publishing, (while these volumes are printing) an important and curious work on the French revolution, intitled: History of France from the Revolution of 1789. He says, vol. ii. page 214, that the Jacobins, a few days before the 10th of August, were divided into Girondins and Montaguards; *but it is at least doubtful, even at that period* says he, *whether any of them were republicans; it is probable, that such principles were only privately entertained by a few individuals; some,* FROM SYSTEMATIC VIEWS, *others,* AS AGENTS TO FOREIGN POWERS*, *who seeing therein only a plan of subversion, were far from suspecting that it would become a source of power.*

* The idea of changing the monarchy into a republic in the month of September, 1792, instead of being a systematic view, or the work of foreign

They had, indeed, published, at the time of the king's escape in 1791, some republican opinions. Robert, Xavier-Audouin, Achilles du Chatelet, Condorcet, and other writers, had proposed them; but rather as their individual opinions, than as a constitutional definitive measure.

In fine, on the very day of the declaration of the republic, three quarters of an hour after the adjournment of the sitting of the convention, Condorcet and a few Girondists assembled in the dining-room of the club of Valois, at the Palais-Royal, appeared in a great consternation, and hardly dared to look at each other. Condorcet, breaking silence, said to the company: "I had always imagined, in the bottom of my mind, that

powers, was even the opinion of M. de Montmorin, and a good Frenchman with whom he had a conference of three hours, at the committee of inspection, during his detention.

The king at that time had suffered two crowns to be destroyed in his hands; that of the ancient military government of France, and that of the constitution annihilated on the 10th of August. The queen was at the head of the revolutionary party of the ancient *régime*. Lewis could only be reinstated by a power superior to that of which he had been deprived on the 10th of August. With an inferior force, nothing could resist the progress of the revolution. Orleans had united one party more against him; that of the Constituents, attached to Lafayette and Bailly. This prince, besides, possessed not a single quality adapted to ensure happiness. A foreign dynasty could not even be proposed; the provisory government of Danton and Roland was detested, despised, and feared; it was necessary to get over the massacres of September. The reign of the infant of the temple had produced a regency that ruined France. No foreign power would accept the dangers of such a crown. The republic was, on the 22d of September, the last safe resource.

the French republic was nothing more than a sublime system."

The abbé Sieyes made use of these words: "They have voted the republic: but do they suppose, that the sovereign people will sanction it? Nothing is more uncertain; it must be decided by the wishes of the people. We have decreed, that all our laws shall be presented for their sanction."

No particular measure had therefore prepared the declaration of the republic; but the character of the reigning party and the anterior operations of the constituent and legislative assemblies led on to it; the first having abolished the two columns of the new monarchies and of society; and the second having accelerated the fall of the constitutional throne, established on ruinous foundations. It is therefore necessary, that the nation be informed of the immediate cause which instituted it on the 22d of September, 1792, and of the reasons which induced the proposers to make the motion at that moment; although, sooner or later, the republic would have been decreed by the national convention.

M. de Montmorin, ex-minister for foreign affairs, persecuted by Brissot and the Gironde, on account of his political moderation with the court of Vienna, was found in one of the suburbs, where he had endeavoured to conceal himself, at the time the villanous pillagers were

arresting citizens in their own houses and throwing them into prisons, where they were soon afterwards murdered. On the 21st of August he was conducted to the national assembly, and underwent a long examination; the result of which was his being remanded to the committee of inspection, where I was then employed in the historical researches cited in the preface to the first volume of this work. The next day, when the deputies were gone to dinner, Montmorin was left at the lower end of the innermost of the three chambers occupied by the Feuillans, in the custody of two soldiers, posted in an outer apartment. We accordingly found ourselves together without any other company. While any of the deputies remained in the apartment he did not sit down. I begged him to accept of my chair, which he refused, till I observed, that I should not make use of it if he did not; when he accepted it.

Montmorin. This is the first mark of kindness that I have received, said Montmorin, since the commencement of my misfortunes. I would gladly know the name of a man accessible to pity, and a deputy charged, perhaps, with making a report relative to my administration.

Soulavie. I am not a deputy, sir, I am employed here in collecting materials for the history of my own time.

Montmorin. Your face is not unknown to me.

I think I have had the honour of seeing you either in Spain, or at the house of M. de Vergennes.

Soulavie. Perhaps at the latter place. It was then in agitation, to inform France and all Europe, through the medium of the *Journal de Paris*, that the English had heretofore formed the project of changing the southern part of the kingdom into a republic by means of the protestants. We at length see it accomplished.

Montmorin. What you have said makes me more anxious to know to whom I have the honour to speak. Do not refuse me the favour.

Soulavie. I ought to inform you, sir, that I am a stranger in this committee; yet if I could serve you I would attempt it, and I have already spoken to Fauchet.

Montmorin. How is it possible to believe, that the committee of inspection will permit any one to write a history in this place?

Soulavie. The heap of papers you see before me belonged to the cabinet of Lewis XVI.; they were brought by the people on the 10th of August to this committee; it is on these documents I am employed.

Montmorin. Ah, sir! these are the papers of the king's ministers whom they are about to bring to trial. How happy am I in meeting with a humane person, to whom I can explain my intentions in every part of my administration,

and to whom I may be singularly useful in his historical researches, when I shall regain my liberty, to which you may contribute, since you are assuredly charged with making some report against me.

Soulavie. To give you some confidence in the truth I have advanced, and to assure you, that I am neither a deputy, nor charged with any process against you, take my pocket-book and examine the letters addressed to me; and as you know all the deputies, you will then be convinced, that there is no one among them of my name. As to my opinions, they are these: I neither approve of the excess of the royal power in the ancient *régime*, nor of the impotence of the government before the revolution. Society was well constituted; but, in 1788, the government had lost all regularity. I have published several historical memoirs, which you may have seen. The ancient *régime* can never be established in its former state.

Montmorin. Our opinions are analogous. Have I not contributed to liberty? Have I not, by a sincere attachment to Lewis XVI., remained constantly by his side? I shall be able to furnish you with some very interesting historical traits on what that prince has done, and commanded me to do, for the establishment of liberty, the very name of which was not known in France before his time. I recollect your works perfectly

well. I bought them and have them now in my possession. I have never done any thing but in favour of liberty; and I have contributed to attach the court to its cause. They do not know the king; he is as innocent as I am. It was contrary to my wishes, that war should be declared against any nation. I look upon it as the source of our misfortunes. Notwithstanding, they have arrested me: M. Brissot attacked me yesterday, very unjustly, in the assembly. M. Lasource, a member of this committee, is ordered to examine me. Ah, sir! if humanity still hold its empire in your heart, do me the favour to inform me of the secret grievance of these gentlemen. I do not fear death; but I feel for the sufferings of madame de Montmorin.

Soulavie. I am a stranger to all the operations of this committee. My only employment here is making extracts from the papers before us for the purposes of my history. Meanwhile I am inclined to serve you, as far as it is in my power.

Montmorin. If you have all the papers, you will see how I have exerted myself for peace, and whether I assisted in persuading the king of Prussia to enter France.

Saulavie. If you had followed the opposite system, you would not have been in your present situation; for Brissot was resolved to make France an enemy to all the European powers.

He is said to be an agent of England; and he detests those who, like you, have endeavoured to prevent the scourge of war.

Montmorin. What do you think he can do to me? and how would you advise me to act.

Soulavie. He will do you all the injury he can. He knows, that you opposed his election at St. Chapelle. An enemy to all the ministers for foreign affairs, Vergennes, Montmorin, Lessart, Chambonas, and Dumouriez, he imagines they are all acquainted with his adventures. He could not be at rest till he had established a person of his own way of thinking in that department. You are badly guarded; there is now only one soldier to look after you. I advise you to make your escape.

Montmorin. To escape, after the sitting of the assembly, would expose me to assassination. Prison is an asylum which I prefer. How do you conceive things will turn out?

Soulavie. The enemy approaches. I do not imagine the king to be in safety.

Montmorin. What do you think of Orleans?

Soulavie. He was here five days ago, giving lists for the apprehension of some ancient courtiers. From the committee of inspection of the national assembly, he repairs to the municipality, to point out who are to be arrested.

Montmorin. Unhappy nation, without king,

clergy, nobility, commerce, money, laws or constitution; what is become of thy former splendor? Thy king is a prisoner, and his servants are led to the scaffold. What can be the end of it? Who will they have for a king?

Soulavie. The king has still some partizans, and M. d'Orleans has his also. Some few individuals are inclined to a republic; but there has not been a single official motion made on that subject.

Montmorin. Orleans! the king of anarchy and of the suburbs! He will stain his throne with innocent blood, and immolate Lewis XVI., his wife and children.

Soulavie. Lewis XVI. has still more friends than M. d'Orleans; but the former has suffered the monarchy of 1788 to perish; and he has also permitted the demolition of the constitutional monarchy on the 10th of August, although defended by the military power of the national guard. He has been thrown into the temple, because he was about to ruin monarchy, already dismembered by the secret treaty of Pilnitz. The crown is in great danger, whether it be placed on the head of M. d'Orleans, or whether it be restored to Lewis XVI.

Montmorin. Have you any influence, sir, over the deputies?

Soulavie. Over no one; nor do I wish it.

But if I could be at all useful, I would devote myself to the service of my country.

Montmorin. In the crisis you so well describe, there are some deputies of different sentiments from those of Guadet, Condorcet and Brissot, who aspire to the government of a regency, which would be the worst of our misfortunes. Tell them, that Orleans is incapable either of supporting the throne with dignity, or of retaining the crown; that his election would increase the enemies of the monarchy; and instead of uniting opinions, he would have against him all the constituants, the veritable and only source of the revolution. The unfortunate monarch, in either case, is lost. I can perceive only one way to re-establish him in a monarchical and free government; and that is, the declaration of the republic on the very day of the opening of the convention. This declaration can alone save the king from the resentment of Orleans, and that of the anarchists. I know how the revolution will proceed. Unless the republic be declared, the men of the 10th of August, fearing the re-establishment of Lewis XVI, will demand his life, to establish a republic; a republic therefore must be demanded, in order to save him.

This republic will be terrible to the enemy; it will preserve our territory entire; it will be torn by devouring factions; and the revolution will

thus purge itself of its filth. We have seen Lafayette and Orleans, before united, fall out on the 14th of July. A few days after, we observed the party of Mirabeau and Lamoth divide. The Jacobins and Feuillants were brothers and friends before the revision. The former, at the time of the declaration of war, were again divided into the party of Robespierre and that of Brissot. Division and trouble are the soul of the revolution.

Soulavie. You cannot be acquainted with the new division at this moment in agitation; that of the municipals against the Girondin majority of the national assembly.

Montmorin. You see, that if France is thus divided under a king; if the continuation of monarchy at this moment be the certain ruin of France and the king; if this continuation be impossible with the same king; if the crown on the head of a foreigner or on that of the despicable Orleans, more incapable than Lewis XVI., have the same inconveniencies; if a regency or dictatorship expose the nation to a civil war or to dismemberment; if the enemy be at our gates; if it be impossible for France, which is my opinion, to become a state purely democratic in its nature; and if the republic can only be a provisionary government, it is necessary to decree it, at a conjuncture when different governments would be the scourge

and ruin of France. Of all the evils, it is the least.

Soulavie. The republic would certainly be more favourable to the king, than the duke of Orleans, or a revolutionary regency, or a dictatorship, Rœderer saved the king on the 10th of August, by confiding him to the legislative body. He may be saved again by confiding him to a republic. His enemies demand his life, in order to establish a republic like the English parliament. By demanding the republic before hand, we may save the king.

Montmorin. Do not intermeddle with public affairs; for probity will daily be crushed by them. You will then observe all the events I have just been citing. And as you are a good Frenchman, we may render service to our country in secret.

Soulavie. Possessing such a gift of foresight, how could you think of remaining in the administration? You have contributed to the ruin of the state by your consent. Could not you perceive, that Mr. Necker was ruining the monarchy? If you wish to see the remarks of your immediate predecessor, M. de Vergennes, on that foreigner, there they are.

Montmorin. Mr. Necker misled me. I was seduced by his probity and pretensions; but not without many objections on my part. They were all, however, victoriously refuted; and I had not a

word to reply. Glaring abuses had certainly crept into the ancient *régime*; and who but the ministers were to correct them? The easy character of the king has occasioned the misery both of his ministers and subjects. Mr. Necker had never any evil intentions; he possessed my confidence.

Soulavie. But what do you say to his connection with the banditti banished from Geneva by M. de Vergennes, who had taken refuge in London, and then repaired to Paris to agitate you. Can you be ignorant, that the genevese D'Ivernois, Duroveray, Dumont, Clavières and even Marat himself, are the agents of a power, whose neutrality on the troubles of our interior is as distant as possible from sincerity.

Montmorin. You are an historian. Do not deceive yourself. Mr. Necker and Clavières detest each other.

Soulavie. But what of D'Ivernois, whom M. Necker had invited to Paris, and who was concerned in so many intrigues, even in that by which the former was made minister?

Montmorin. Mr. Necker, with good intentions, wished to make use of those whose sentiments were analagous to his systems; but when he perceived that he was mistaken, at his return from Basle in 1789, he acknowledged his political errors. If ever you write against his conscientious probity, you will fail in the first duty of

an historian. You are at liberty to inquire into his opinions, to discuss and censure them, for they have certainly had some influence; but respect the man; I have seen more of him than you have; he will pay very dear for his errors. I think I now see him plunged in the most profound sorrow and the bitterest repentance. It is the interest of every Frenchman who has acted with him in the cause of liberty, not to separate his cause from theirs.

Soulavie. I am of the same opinion; I have declared it on three different occasions, and my sentiments are not yet altered. But I conceive him nevertheless to be the author and father of the revolutions of France, though completely innocent in his intentions. Unhappily, he was a revolutionist and a Genevese; he inherited an ancient grudge against the clergy, nobility, the high finance and the parliaments, that induced him, to create a popular party in 1788, which was confounded with the nobility, clergy, and *tiers-état,* in the disputes that took place in 1787 and 1788. His temper was in unison with that of the *tiers-état*; and he managed matters so well as to form a constituent assembly. This is what he is accused of, not by the parties, but by the classes, which the *tiers-état* have suppressed. Mr. Necker protected only the popular party, who have annihilated him, and who will annihilate

every authority that has not sufficient address to combine its democratic force with that of the privileged power, which tempers it. Pure democracy and aristocracy are two kinds of tyrannical government. Their combination produces liberty.

Montmorin. Let us terminate this political conversation by a singular service it is in your power to render me. I am in the most cruel state of torment on account of madame de Montmorin. How must she have suffered from the interrogatories of the national assembly! Do me the favour to call on her. She lives in the middle of the *rue neuve des Mathurins.* She will be terrified when she knows that you come from me at the committee; but tell her to be comforted, that I AM WELL, and that I have seen some members of the committee.

Soulavie. On my part, I shall ask also a favour. You have eaten nothing for twenty-four hours; let me go out and send you some dinner.

Montmorin. No: I will remain as I am; I have besides no appetite.

Soulavie. That you may eat without fear, I will get the dinner myself.

Montmorin. You can render me no further service; and your compassion may cause you to be suspected. I beg that any papers relating to my administration against the interests of France, if you find any, may be transmitted by you to the

committee. Convinced of my patriotism, I do not hesitate in making this proposition; but should you discover any which may be misinterpreted to my prejudice, what will you do with them? You are acquainted with my answer to the denunciations of Brissot; I refer to them.

Soulavie. I cannot meddle with the papers belonging to the committee. But there they lie, in that corner. What is to hinder you from mixing them like a pack of cards? These deputies think much indeed about papers! They come here for two or three hours, for the purpose of quarrelling; after which they go to the national assembly, and pass the rest of the day with women or in other pleasures. At this moment there is a rivalry starting up between them and the municipality, on account of the excesses of the latter. Nothing could be more favourable for you. *(Here M. de Montmorin mixed the papers of the committee, and untied the strings of the different bundles.)*

Montmorin. Be a patriot, sir, and you may be my most valuable defender; speak to the deputies with respect; be prudent, for my sake. Abandoned by the whole world, wandering and fugitive in the streets of Paris, arrested and brought to this committee, Providence has sent you for my deliverance, which it is in your power to effect, by calming the minds of the committee.

Thus terminated this long dialogue with M. de

Montmorin. I parted with sorrow from this unfortunate husband, and the same evening I saw his wife dying in bed with despair and terror. *I am not madame Montmorin*, said she, *but I will make her acquainted with any intelligence you may bring from her husband.* The next morning I returned to my labour. The abbé Fauchet told me, that the committee had been softened by his motion; that no report would be made against M. de Montmorin; though, to pacify the people, he had been sent, provisionally, to the Abbey. There this unhappy minister was massacred on the 2d of September.

This victim of Brissot had not foreseen the 10th of August; he had officially and imprudently answered that deputy, *that his malice or generosity were equally indifferent to him;* and Brissot never forgave the contempt with which he was treated by the constituents, the royalists, and the patriots of the party of Chabot, Robespierre, and Danton. M. de Montmorin had also been imprudent in the answer, which he printed and published against Brissot. He had written an apology for the *Austrian diplomatic system.* He asserted, that such an alliance, by insuring us a continental peace, had given us the means of increasing our naval strength, and produced the success of the last maritime war. M. de Montmorin added, that

he was not allowed to change the system of policy he had found established in France, and that it would have been imprudent to attempt to alter it during a revolution. He unveiled the secret to Brissot, (united to the English party), to Dumont, Duroveray, and Clavières, who were resolved to do every thing in their power to demolish the treaty of 1756, and involve France and Austria in a war for the advantage of England, who on this occasion thought of profiting by our calamities. Now, therefore, that Brunswick threatened to hang the Mountain of the second legislation, at the head of which was Brissot, the first step of that agitator was to send Montmorin to the Abbey, who, on account of the revolution, had exerted every nerve in secret to oppose the declaration of the war with Austria.

This long conference with M. de Montmorin, made a great impression on the mind of a citizen, whose name I am not allowed to mention. He was determined to put the intentions of the former, for the safety of France, in execution. The duke of Orleans having been accused of promoting the massacres of September, as well as that of madame de Lamballe, and, in the course of the revolution, having shewn neither virtue nor courage, it appeared, that the union of so many parties against him rendered his crown extremely disputable, and that he could not restore happiness to the nation. Many of the same

inconveniencies would attend a foreign prince, and that of being opposed by the party of Orleans was not the least annoying. As to the king, he was become, since the 10th of August, the most unlikely person in the world to reestablish royalty. This anonymous citizen, seeing France on the point of being torn to pieces in the interior, and at the same time menaced without, took the resolution of putting M. de Montmorin's system in practice.

On the day of the opening of the convention, he learned, that they were already preparing to try the king. He was not a deputy; nevertheless, as, on the first day of instalment, any person might be admitted into the convention, he pushed through the hall, made up towards David, who sat in the corner, on the right side of the president, on the highest row of benches, and addressed him as follows:

"It would well become the painter of Brutus to demand, that the convention declare the abolition of the French monarchy, and that France, henceforward, shall be governed as a republic."

"I have been thinking so for some time past," replied the celebrated painter, "but such a measure must be concerted with those who have the power, as well as the inclination, to enforce it."

On the refusal of David, the anonymous person descends two rows of benches, and addresses a

deputy of Bretany, who, by his dress, seemed to be a farmer. "It appears to me," says he, "that agriculture would be highly honoured, if an honest man, like you, appearing to come from the country towns, should demand the institution of the republic in their name." The farmer replied, "I have no talent for oratory; but, nevertheless, I have the republic at heart. Propose it yourself; I will immediately second it."

From the farmer he passes on to Carra, who had already published his system of a foreign dynasty. "Carra, the 10th of August is your own day; your journal has reconciled all minds to it. A declaration of the republic would make up the full complement of your labour." .... Carra replied: "a motion of such a nature should be debated among the Cordeliers, the Sections, and the Jacobins; I would not undertake it without this measure of precaution."

He now descends two benches more, and addresses Collot d'Herbois: "Is it not certain, that from the year 1788 to the 10th of August, no one has been free or happy? France must either be governed as a monarchy, or as a republic. If as a monarchy, either Lewis XVI. must be re-established, (and we are all sensible how impossible that is, unless we wish to see the country ruined under a monarch who has no will of his own), or else she will be governed by Orleans

or the infant of the Temple. I conceive it much worse to crown the son than the father. As to Orleans, if he come to the throne, France will be torn by an additional faction; by the Girondins, who wish for the young prince; and by the Feuillans, who are gratified with his imprisonment. We must, therefore, establish ourselves as a republic. Ascend the rostrum, and without preamble, as well as without comment, inform the assembly, that the nature of things has already declared it in France.

Collot d'Herbois replied, that it would be necessary to concert this with Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and with the electors of Paris particularly, from whom he held his powers.

"If you refuse, I will mount the rostrum and make the motion myself. I already look upon it as unanimously decreed. If you wait a week longer, the parties will have time to start objections; intrigue will be introduced; new parties will be formed; and a civil war, on account of the king of Prussia, who at this moment, perhaps, is at Châlons, will be declared. Rise, Collot, and make the motion." Collot now gets two benches lower down, and gives his adviser a thrust in order to get rid of him. The latter, however, still follows him up, and to induce him to make the motion, sits down beside him and says: "Mount the rostrum, Collot, if you do not

wish me to do so." Collot now rises and ascends the rostrum, declaring, without the slightest preamble, that France is a republic. Orleans, seated in the second angle to the right of the president, was the first of the convention that rose up. He blushed; his features were distorted; passion was visible in his countenance; the deep red was succeeded by a still deeper colour, bordering on black. "I have caught him in the very act," said the author of the motion to those who stood about him: "only observe that king of France!"

"France was then in such an anarchical and discordant situation, that it was more likely for her to approach a free and organised state, by adopting the republican form in her government, than by retrograding towards monarchy. If the ephemeral monarchy of the revisers were already become a revolutionary machine, what would it have been if established according to principles anterior to the revision? The republic was instituted.

Orleans had neither character, sentiment, nor energy, at a time when he should have carried those qualities even to heroism, in order to establish in France the government of one alone. If, in these times of political rebellion and fanaticism, he had brought more misery on our country, and if the errors of the people had raised him to the throne, he would have united against him the

resentments of Europe, the royal family, the friends of the ancient *régime*, the constituent royalists, the partisans of a regency, and the republicans. It was very obvious, that he was weak and tyrannical. He possessed all the faults of Lewis XVI., without any of his virtues and good qualities. Besides, it was impossible for him to support himself at the head of government with the cordeliers; they were in open opposition to every party, as well as to every social institution. A government, with no other power than that of revolutionists exclusively, is a government in a state of warfare with the whole body of society; and nature herself has ordained, that it shall pass away like the violence of a tempest.

The party of Orleans, who never possessed any other power than that of conceiving crimes without daring to put them in execution, were only able to prevent the establishment of a constitutional and regular monarchy. The regular monarchy would have still endured, if the intestine agitations and oppositions of that party had not crushed every salutary measure that appeared likely to give the French a happy government.

CHAP. II.

Trial of Lewis XVI.—Opinion of the Party of Moderates on the Fate of the King.—Opinions of the Mountain, composed of Republicans, Orleanists, the Faction of Foreigners and Anarchists.

THE day after the declaration of the republic, Brissot published his adhesion. He, as well as the girondins, had now to make the republicans forget the anathema he had delivered in the legislative assembly, a little before the 10th of August, against the friends of the two chambers on one part, and against the friends of a republican government. The enemy advancing towards Paris, he had also to do away the remembrance of the declaration of war, which he had insisted on with so much fury. In order to introduce himself as a republican into the new government, and to palliate his provocations relating to the war, he published the following paragraph in his journal:

"Besides the invaluable advantages which the war procures to France," says he, in the journal bearing his name, "there is another powerful consideration, which has biassed the

partisans of war, and which has not been felt by their opponents. To convince the French of the perfidy of the court, it was necessary to put it to a grand proof, and this proof was the war against the house of Austria. France has been saved solely by inoculating her with treason. Without the war, neither La Fayette nor Lewis could have been completely unmasked. Without the war, the revolution of the 10th of August would not have taken place. Without the war, France would not now be a republic; and it is even doubtful whether she would have been so for twenty years to come."

"Declaring war against Austria," said the royalists, "and inoculating France with treason to unmask Lewis XVI. and La Fayette, can only be the measures of a knave." It is certain, that Brissot's conduct was very opposite to that of the friends of Lewis XVI., and particularly to that of M. de Montmorin, relative to the declaration of war.

That minister, by desiring the establishment of a republic at the time when every monarchical institution was become alike impossible in France, had hoped to save Lewis XVI., and preserve him till the period should arrive, when our unhappy country, disgusted with the government of furious proceedings, would regret his temperate reign. He wished at the same

time, to deliver that prince from the dangers of a foreign dynasty, and from a regency administrated under the minority of his son by the chiefs of the time. Finally, he wished to guaranty him both from the government of the odious Orleans, from the anarchy which predominated in France, particularly since the 10th of August, and from a dictatorship. The institution of a republic, which he regarded as ephemeral, would exhaust, according to the opinion of Montmorin, the parties on the point of disputing for the ruins of the throne. The savage faction of Robespierre, the foreign faction manifested by the imprudence of Carra, and the faction of Orleans, defended by Marat, Danton, and the cordeliers, were soon likely to destroy each other, and would leave the moderates in a few years the power of re-constituting France, under the authority of a monarch, who was himself the first to attempt to make her free.

This opinion was so natural, that the convention were scarcely installed, and the republic declared, when suddenly there was formed a numerous majority, composed of re-elected constituents united with the gironde. The first proceedings of the assembly were not for the trial of Lewis XVI., but for that of Robespierre and Marat, and for the reform of the ancient French constitution.

There is no doubt but the majority of the convention wished to save the life of the king; but, by attacking the leaders of the other party, they failed both in prudence and policy. The mountain of the convention, finding themselves menaced at once by Brunswic and those whom they called the brissotins; Robespierre, hearing Louvet threaten him with an act of accusation; Marat, perceiving, that they recalled to their minds the crimes of the 2d of September, and recollecting, that Brissot had been negotiating with the administration in favour of Lewis, whose dethronement he had adjourned; in fine, the Germans being still encamped in the territory of the republic;—the minds of these great revolutionists were seized with terror, and the dread of the scaffold made them resolve to undertake any thing, to deprive the majority of all hopes of again setting the prince on the throne. It was then that the montagnards demanded the trial of the king. Misled by the crimes they had already accumulated, they imagined, that by cutting off the head of Lewis XVI. they should save their own.

In a revolution, one crime produces another, till they amount to a number almost incalculable. The majority of the convention, who committed the fault of attacking Robespierre in the rostrum, added to it that of not supporting

their motion. The montagnards examined their relative force. They wished to judge the king, at the same time that the majority endeavoured to bring Marat to trial and exclude Orleans. In fine, the montagnards reinforcing themselves publicly with the septembrisers, the majority united more closely with the gironde.

In this division of sentiments they proceeded to the trial of the king. What a novel spectacle was this horrible contest between the moderates and montagnards on the character of Lewis XVI.? Royalty had never before been subject to insults of such a nature. The moderates of the convention, surrounded by furious patisans, by Marat, Collot, Billaud, Robespierre, &c., were sometimes obliged to make use of the same language, or almost agree with them, in order to be heard by the opposite party, and neutralize the anger of men, intoxicated with the power but just conferred on them.

Opinions of the Moderates of the Convention on Lewis XVI.

THE opinion of Cambacérès on the king's trial must be considered as the most remarkable among the moderate party. It will be useful to the historian of future ages, both as a body of doctrine, and as a body of civil law, concerning royalty and the people.

" By decreeing," said Cambacérès, " that the convention shall judge Lewis XVI., you have acknowledged, that such an act of national justice could only be exercised by yourselves. You have done still more; you have considered this function as one of your most important duties, and as the essential object of your union.

" Is this claim well founded? Is it certain, that the nation has specially charged you with the care of judging the *ci-devant* king? Is that clause written in the mandates which have been given you, or in the instructions which we have received? Is this delegation in the place which its importance seems to require; that is to say, at the head of the book (if I may be allowed the expression), and in the constitutive title of our powers? In pronouncing the decree, the consequences of which we are now investigating, have we not rather consulted the interest of our electors than their will? and does our resolution answer their expectations? Citizens, I have my doubts on this subject; and certainly what has passed in the discussion is not calculated to do them away.

" Let us refer to the immortal day of the 10th of August, when the French people arose at the voice of their representatives. What did they effect in their assemblies?

They reduced the use of their rights to the simple nomination of electors, and at the same time expressed a wish, that can leave no doubt of their hatred to royalty and kings: 'Henceforward,' said they, 'the French are equal and free. The author of our misfortunes, the enemy of the national sovereignty, must be punished.'

"What have the electors done? Hurried on by circumstances, few of them have analysed the objects of our mission: some reiterated the sentiments of the primary assemblies; and each of us came with the fullest powers, but without any fixed or precise determination; in short, without any express mission to pass sentence on Lewis Capet.

"It is therefore uncertain, whether the nation has specially delegated to you the right of judging Lewis: and if this delegation has not been given you, can you ascribe it to yourselves? If it be not specially declared, can you presume it? No: the great latitude of authority, with which the confidence of the public has environed us, cannot supply the silence of our mandates. There should be nothing vague in so weighty a concern: and when it becomes necessary to derogate principles on which liberty and public safety repose, we should at least be supported by the general desire expressly manifested.

"The foundation of a government undoubtedly requires the union of all the authorities in the hands of those to whom the people confide this respectable employment; but the exercise of it ought to be regulated; its application cannot be arbitrary; and the accumulation of powers does not determine the use of them.

"Hence the people have created you legislators; but they have not instituted you judges. Hence they have

charged you to establish happiness on immutable foundations; but they have not charged you to pronounce, yourselves, the condemnation of the author of their misfortunes.

"How then, it will be said, are we to act? I answer, in the same manner as if a calm and lengthened discussion had prepared your deliberation, when you decided, that Lewis should be judged by the national convention. Then, if your attention had been called to the doubts I have laid before you, you would have asked the sovereign power to fix your competency. Follow the same direction: address yourselves to the people: they alone can make valid what you have done, and render legitimate what you have still to do. Tell them, 'We believe Lewis to be guilty. The safety of the state, and the interest of nations, require that he should be punished; and he cannot be punished without first being tried. We have decreed, that that process shall be executed by the national convention, by ourselves, to whom you have remitted the care of providing for your safety, and avenging your insulted authority. Do you approve of this resolution? Is the privilege of assuming it contained in the powers with which you have invested us?—Declare; and we will execute.'..... In speaking thus to your constituents, it will be easy for you to prejudge their answer; for it is necessary to know how to reckon on the good-sense of the people; and when public opinion is well directed, we need not fear its effects: good always operates by the conviction of its utility.

"But, it may be said, 'These reflections would have been more *à-propos* in the sitting, when the assembly decided, that they should judge Capet. They are now too

late; they may expose the convention to the reproach of versatility; and they will occasion fresh delays, when public safety requires rapid and certain measures.'

"I answer: What I have now said, I mentioned before to the committee of legislation, when the question relative to the trial of Lewis Capet was in agitation; what I have now said, I would have said to yourselves, if the discussion had not been concluded with inconceivable rapidity, at the time you decreed, as if by acclamation, that Lewis should be judged by the national convention.

"My views, as to the manner of proceeding on this trial, are explained in the 19th page of the report presented to you by Mailhe. They tended to prevent your uniting in your own hands the functions of accusers, jury, and judges; and to cause the whole body of the nation to participate in one grand act, by the composition of a special jury. It was easy enough for me to perceive, that in the heat of the moment such a project would have been unfavourably received; and then I thought of reducing my plan, and demanding, that the decree relative to the trial of Lewis should be referred to the primary assemblies.

"To this motive, which is peculiar to myself, may also be added some general considerations. The majesty of the representatives of a great nation can never suffer from the reparation of an error committed by excess of zeal; and the delays occasioned by consulting the people as to what judges Lewis ought to have, will not be greater than those which will be requisite to obtain their sentiments on his sentence.

"This explanation will do away all our doubts. The people will either submit Lewis Capet to a tribunal formed by themselves, and which will supply the place of the high

national court, on which they might depend from the moment we assembled; or else they will ratify your decrees, by acknowledging, that you ought to be the judges of the accused person. Happy alternative! which, without prejudicing the cause, can only be useful to the convention; for, in the first case, you will have to applaud yourselves for not consummating the work by surprise; and in the second hypothesis, there is no one among you but is forced to acknowledge, that his mission will have taken a more authentic character.

"This explanation perfectly conciliates the sacred rights of national sovereignty and the advantages of the representative government. It merely submits to the people a simple fact, which, on their part, neither requires verification, examination, nor deliberation; while, on the contrary, the proposition of the appeal, if it give no fear of danger, presents, at least, some difficulties.

"In vain have opinions varied as to the nature and quality of the act which is to decide the fate of Capet. In vain has it been said, sometimes that it is a measure of policy or general safety, and sometimes that it is a sentence.

"It requires but little sagacity to discover, that this last is the only suitable denomination. If it be a sentence, can you force the people to pass or confirm it, without having seen the minutes of the process, without having heard what the accused has to say in his defence, and without any previous deliberation? And then consider to how many hazards any recourse to the people may expose you, and how it might endanger the public safety.

"This explanation also prevents a difficulty which

might arise, if sentence were passed under the present circumstances.

" Almost all those who have spoken on the question demand the appeal nominal both on the fact and the application of the punishment. How can you exact an answer, either affirmative or negative, from any one who should declare, that he has none to give, because he does not conceive himself to be a judge? And, certainly, it would be as tyrannical to force him to it, as it would be difficult to answer him.

" Can I deceive myself in a reasoning so evident? Is not the method which I propose preferable to the two opinions which divide this assembly? I say more; this method ought to unite them. Those, who think they have already ample power, ought not to be astonished at the doubts of their colleagues, nor object to delays, which it will be impossible for them to avoid; for the necessity of obtaining the consent of the whole body of the nation to the trial of the *ci-devant* king is generally felt; and as to those who have proclaimed this idea, can they deny the want of power to attack the edifice at its foundation, and that, before they are summoned on a trial, they ought first to examine if they are allowed to act on such an occasion? But as their system is supported by specious considerations, I take the liberty again to repeat: You have either received a sufficient delegation from the people to try Lewis, or you have not received it. If you have this delegation, it is useless, and perhaps dangerous, to require an explanation from your constituents as to a point on which you already know their sentiments: if you have not such an authority, begin by asking it of those from whom it should emanate. In the first case, you

contradict yourselves; in the second, you will be in unison with reason and equity. I do not undertake, citizens, to answer here the arguments which have been advanced to support the appeal to the people, the sanction of the people, and the ratification of the people. This seducing form has been presented, as if prescribed by the rigour of principles, and as an homage rendered to the national sovereignty. It has been said, that a judgment rendered by the whole body of the nation would include both interior and exterior enemies; that, 'if the prudence of this measure should at first excite the impatience of the most heated imaginations, the wisdom and good faith of the majority would soon repay you with gratitude.' I do not contest either of these propositions; but when I disengage this question from all its accessories, I see only one method of lightening the responsibility which presses on our heads. The plan I have laid down would lead to the same end, with this difference, that the proceedings will be more simple, and the effects more prompt.

"The more I consider the act we are about to perform as a judgment, the less I conceive I ought to meddle at present with the different questions which the trial may present.

"Citizens, I have done my duty; I have gratified the dictates of my conscience, in declaring my sentiments: I have done it without art, with that simplicity which I promised you, and which commands the respect due to truth. Permit me now to add, in a few words, that enthusiasm and zealous animosity are not at all calculated to decide on this affair.

"The remembrance of this event, outliving the ravages of time, will float upon the torrent of ages and gene-

rations; and, engraven on the calendar of nations by the chisel of immortality, history will be struck with astonishment, and the despots of the universe will stand appalled. The least levity would here be a fault; the smallest omission a crime. What then would be the presumption of giving greater extent to our powers than to our mission!

"No: once again let us be cautious not to assimilate this memorable cause with the ordinary questions agitated in the tribunals and courts of civil life, where it is permitted to interpret what the law has laid down, to supply what it may not have explained; where, by long windings of distant consequences, assisted by artificial eloquence, it appears more like tormenting truth than seeking it; and, instead of conveying the light to the bottom of the well, proud reason herself leaps in, impelled by the jargon of argument and sophistry.

"The most scrutinous examination and the most scrupulous doubts are insufficient in this unequalled circumstance; and, instead of proceeding by the trembling light of sophistry, as in the empire of opinion, it is the flambeau of evidence alone that should illumine our steps in the paths of justice and truth: in short, the matter is either plain, or it is not so. Is it plain? Why, then, this crowd of orators anxious to be heard? why this division in minds and opinions? Who would not think, that some system was to be discussed and examined by us with the greatest attention and acuteness?

"I repeat, therefore, the matter is not plain. What then must be done? Let us instantly return and consult the oracle: for such is the progress of reason, and the order of wisdom.

"I propose to call together the French people in the primary assemblies as soon as possible, that, after having examined the decree of the.... they may declare, whether they intended, or do intend, to delegate to the convention the right of judging the *ci-devant* king; the constitutional committee being charged with presenting, at the next sitting, some prompt and simple mode, by which the people may manifest their will."

The gironde was now in a state of disorder. The revolutionary situation which it had occupied in the mountain of the second legislative assembly had corrupted the personages who possessed the greatest abilities. But the moderates, who had less share in the catastrophes conducted by the girondins, returning to the convention, and presenting to the latter a remedy for their infatuation, together with a system of temperate opinions against the revolutionists of the convention, we at length saw this party descend from the terrible mountain, which they had occupied with Chabot, Merlin, and Thuriot, and whence they had darted their thunder-bolts, to range themselves with the new moderates. More enlightened than their brethren, who remained in the mountain, and less ferocious, their numerous printed opinions on the destiny of Lewis rather indicate their dread of future vengeance than any emotion of pity. If, besides, they thought the power of the jaco-

bins ought to be lessened, it was because they were not able to direct it since the month of July. If they attempted to reduce the revolutionary force of the Parisians, it was because the 10th of August had been contrived without their assent, and at a time when they only wished for days similar to that of the 20th of June. They were ready enough to accuse, throw into irons, and judge Lessart, Montmorin, and the constituents, such as Rochefoucault, opposers of the anarchy they had so successfully carried on during the legislature; but they were not willing, like Marat, to massacre them. Their minds, however, were so infatuated, and so far removed from every praise-worthy-measure, as far as related to administration and general defence, that Guadet, in the name of a committee in which the party domineered, proposed razing the houses of Longwy, the fortifications and public edifices excepted, as soon as it should again fall into the hands of France; and this same deputy also made a motion to declare its citizens infamous.

The girondins gave another proof of considerable error, in the amnesty granted to the assassins of the glacières of Avignon, defended by Brissot, Grangeneuve, Guadet, Lasource, and others of the party. "It was at that time necessary," according to their doctrine, "to be pas-

sive ;" but when Chabot, Merlin, Thuriot, Danton, and Robespierre presided over the party who broke Brissot's printing-presses, and issued their warrants to arrest him, they then were of opinion, that their revolutionary companions "neither respected property nor persons." Rolland judged, in his proclamations and addresses to the people, what the long and disappointed patience of the nation would produce to the 2d of September. "I have not," said he, "*inconsiderately blamed a terrible and primary movement*, but I thought it necessary to avoid *its continuance*. Thus, as a great tempest purifies the air, and carries off the filth; so popular wrath and commotion operate in a few hours what the regular course of things would, perhaps, effect when it became too late."

History and posterity, however, owe some sentiments of gratitude to the gironde, for adopting the most pacific systems of the new deputies in the national convention. They, in general, proposed the opinions and sentiments expressed in the preceding speech of Cambacérès. The learned tactics of this coalition occasioned the different series of questions favourable to the king, thus expressed: "Is Lewis guilty? Shall there be an appeal to the people on the judgment of Lewis? What punishment

shall be inflicted on Lewis? Shall there be any respite in the execution of the sentence?" In these different questions the girondins voted, in order to save the king from the scaffold, that he should be detained prisoner; that he should be banished at the peace; that he should be considered as an hostage; that he should be respited from death till the invasion; that he should be banished with all the Bourbons; that he should be perpetually confined, or should be condemned to any thing but death. They demanded the appeal to the French people for their sanction: they endeavoured to obtain a respite; and took every measure to draw the king out of the clutches of the mountain.

Opinions and Systems of the Mountain of the Convention, composed of mis-led Republicans, Orleanists, and factious Individuals, excited by foreign Powers, resolved to conduct the Monarch to the Scaffold, and of a few Constitutional Priests, offended at the King's Refusal to sanction the Decrees against their refractory Enemies.

THE girondins, in their terrible debates, expressed their hatred to the Orleanists. They were persuaded that Philip d'Orleans presided in secret over the cordeliers and the municipality, who had invested him with the honours of the republic, and with the title of citizen Equality. "I demand the exclusion of Orleans," said Buzot; "and to-morrow you will see an end of our intestine dissensions."

The montagnards and the duke of Orleans had different interests. In case France should be forced, in the last extremity, to have a king, the former wished her to be governed by one of their own creation. The girondins, who, by a demi-revolution, had wished to destroy the king, in order to avoid the meditated vengeance of his spouse, had not totally abandoned the constitutional party of 1791. They were united with that party in the convention, whilst the montagnards-orleanists intended that Orleans should be their chief corner stone; they had, besides, concerted with him the 10th of August, so that, instead of granting a respite to the execution of Lewis, the menacing party spoke in these terms through the organ of Thuriot:

"The decree of death is passed," said he, "and it shall be put in execution. What! shall the minority of the convention prevent it? Have not the assembly decreed, that it should be determined by the majority*? And yet they talk of the dissatisfaction of the departments! Have they forgot, that the whole of the assembly declared against the *monster*, who, during five years, conspired against liberty? I fear nothing; Paris has not accomplished three revolutions to suffer the fruits of them to be lost. The Parisians will see your decree executed. I fear nothing; calumny will lose its effect; aristocracy will be left without support. Those who propagate calumny are known. Paris wish for another tyrant! No: Paris will rise at once to crush every tyrant, every accomplice of tyrants. I fear not to say it; all their petty schemes have no other end than to save tyranny. What strange unreasonableness then is that which we hear from the rostrum, which argues against the death of the tyrant, and yet wishes to banish the Bourbons, who have done nothing against liberty? Is it thus we render homage to virtue†? *(murmurs)*. The same plan of attack has existed for these four years, and is incessantly renewed. Do you imagine that faction still exists? It is only to be found where there are cowardly intriguers, who desire to appoint ministers. The *mountain* make a king! If you conceive that project possible, why was it not executed on the 14th of July, the 5th of October, or the 10th of August? Ah! you ca-

* They had decreed it in defiance of all the penal laws of France and Europe, which require two thirds of the votes, at least, in cases of life and death. An exception to this law of humanity was made for Lewis.

† To the virtue of the duke of Orleans guarantied by Thuriot!

lumniate for the sake of calumny, because you are monsters enough to shed the blood of the innocent. We ought to have the liberty of speaking freely our opinion at the rostrum, but no calumny should be suffered. For four months past these men have never altered their system against this city (Paris). What, then, would they do against it, if they were to become the strongest party? Would they not deliver it over to the flames and to pillage? They talk of the powers of Europe; as if we had not been aware of the war against them! Have not we declared ourselves the protectors of all nations desirous of shaking off the yoke of tyrants? Do you suppose, that I was the dupe of the pretended letter from the king of Spain the day before yesterday? No: there is no such thing*. It is a petty *ruse-de-guerre*. It is written by a man, who is here without any authority to that effect. Citizens, you shall read it. It will sufficiently prove the miserable tactics of our adversaries. There is a great difference between the expression of the will of a king, and the imagination of an agent without character and without any acknowledged mission. Let us keep strictly to the question; it is simple. The people have intimated their desire to you. They have told you, to *judge the tyrant*. You have only to apply the law. It is not your place to deviate from it. What do you hope from a delay of a week or a fortnight? You would give the tyrant an opportunity to escape. I demand, that, conformably to principles, the convention decree, that in twenty-four hours after

* The king of Spain, alone, among the European monarchs, had endeavoured to soften the party that talked in the style of Thuriot.

judgment the executive power cause the sentence to be put in execution.

" * How is it, that in the number of those who demand the sacrifice of innocence before they punish the tyrant, there is not one who speaks of the necessity of striking it? Is not this subject, after the tyrant's death, the first thing which ought to occupy our attention for the public safety?"

Carrier added: " If ever a tyrant offer himself, I will not lie down in my bed, nor will I give up my arms to my comrade."

" To call the people to sanction a sentence," said Marat, " is an act of imbecility and madness."

" I am against an appeal to the people," said Legendre; " I am convinced, that there is enough steel remaining in France to forge poniards; and I have sufficient courage to stab a tyrant."

Billaud de Varennes talked of going in a direct manner to kill the king, without further trouble.

" My only regret," said Fayau, " in dying for my opinion against the tyrant, would be, that I could not be reborn from my ashes, to offer my life to my fellow-citizens as often as they should be base enough to set up a tyrant."

Condorcet was for condemning Lewis to any punishment, even the most severe, except death.

Mollevant observed, that the execution of Lewis would be to the French people what that of Charles I. was to

* Duprat and Rebequi, deputies of the Bouches-du-Rhône, on the contrary demanded the appeal to the people on the judgment of Lewis, " seeing," said Rebequi, " the faction of Orleans bribing, as it does, so many people with the guineas of England. Philip d'Orleans," said he, " is in the midst of a faction which I denounce to the republic, devoting myself tranquilly to poniards and *assassins*." The faction that surprised him in his tranquillity, in fact caused him to be put to death.

the English; an observation that, instead of curbing the montagnard deputies, animated their energy and resentment the more.

"Lewis merits more than death," said Lequinio; "and I wish I could condemn him to a punishment the duration of which might long serve as an example. I suppose I am understood; I would sentence him for ever to the galleys, *as a great lesson of equality.* The idea of this punishment will be revolting only to women, aristocrats, and those who from weakness or vanity are still slaves to ancient prejudices."

"How should the monarch be judged?" said Marat. "With solemn severity. Far from us be the false ideas of clemency and generosity, by which some endeavour to flatter the national vanity. How can we listen to them, without incurring the blame of the nation? To pardon, would not be weakness; it would be treason, villany, and perfidy."

"The convention," said Robespierre the younger, "ought not to lose their valuable time in attending to writings, dilatory exceptions, and the chicanery of the bar, in a process, which the people have already determined by insurrection. They ought to adopt the form required by public safety; that is to say, the most expeditious. They must be convinced, that this grand criminal is the torch of civil war, and the cause of famine; and that the agitators will disappear with their master. This monster is a rallying point; the carcase to which all voracious and maleficent beings attach themselves."

In consequence, the younger Robespierre demanded, that the king should be brought to the bar to hear his sentence,

declare his accomplices, and be thence immediately led to execution.

" There is no citizen," said St. Just, " but has the same right over the king, as Brutus had over Cæsar; and you could no more punish such an action, than you have blamed the assassination of Gustavus. Lewis was a second Catiline; he attacked the people, he is overcome. He is a barbarian, a foreigner, prisoner of war: you have seen his designs; his army. The traitor was not king of the French; he was only king of a few conspirators; he privately levied troops; he chose particular magistrates; he regarded the French as slaves; he had proscribed the virtuous and intrepid; he is the instigator of the murders of the bastille, of Nancy, the *Champ-de-Mars*, Tournay, and the Tuileries. What enemy, what foreigner has done us more injury? He is only a kind of hostage preserved by villains."

Robespierre the elder said: " There is no trial necessary in this case. Lewis is not an accused person; you are not judges, you can be nothing more than statesmen. You have no sentence to pass, but a measure of safety to adopt; an act of national providence to exercise. A dethroned king, in the republic, is fit for nothing but to disturb the tranquillity of the state. Lewis was king, and the republic is established. The question in debate is decided by these words: *Lewis has been dethroned by his crimes.* Lewis has invited his fellow-tyrants to come and punish the French as a rebellious people. Victory and the people have decided, that he alone was the rebel. Lewis, therefore, cannot be judged; he is already condemned, or the republic is not absolved. The proposing to bring Lewis

to trial is retrograding towards despotism, and throwing the revolution into litigation. I vote, that the convention declare him, at this moment, a traitor to the nation and a criminal towards humanity; and that a monument be dedicated to the event."

Remi said in the convention: "Teach the people to punish tyrants in a manner worthy of them. Hercules did not amuse himself in bringing banditti to trial; he purged the earth of them. You are fearful of being accused, like the English, of assassinating your king. If the spirit of the English had been republican, if they had had republican writers, no one would have calumniated the act of justice which they put in execution against Charles Stuart. The best manner of judging the king is the shortest: that of Scævola and Brutus."

"They cut off the heads of kings," said Danton...., "His punishment," added Sergent, "will inspire a salutary terror." "Solely occupied by my duty," cried Orleans, "and convinced, that all those who have attempted, or shall attempt in future, to destroy the sovereignty of the people, deserve to die, *I vote for death.*" "I vote for it, to frighten tyrants," said Carra, "and for the instruction of the people." Bazire cited "Tarquin, dethroned and exiled, presenting himself before Rome with an army; and the banished Coriolanus, who put the republic in danger:" and he voted for death in presence of the statue of Brutus, set up in face of the members.

"Sixteen months ago," said bishop Grégoire, "I proved, in this same tribune, that Lewis XVI. might be brought to trial. I had the honour of being classed among the few patriots who struggled, but with great disadvantage, against *the mass of the robbers of the constituent*

national assembly. Hisses were the reward of my courage. Citizens, I am now speaking in the same cause, and *I address myself to honest men*. They listen to me with the calmness of reason.

" The question of inviolability was strongly debated towards the close of the constituent assembly. It had for partisans all those *vile beings*, who, prostituting the august character of legislators, had adopted that of court valets . . . They pretended, that inviolability was a happy fiction to support liberty.

" Royalty was ever to me a subject of horror. But Lewis XVI. is no longer invested with it. I lay aside all animadversion against him, that he may be judged impartially. Besides, he has exerted himself so much to obtain contempt, that there can be no longer any room for hatred. Within these very walls I told the legislators, 'he will swear any thing, and observe nothing.' What prediction was ever better accomplished? The worthy *descendant* of Lewis XI. came, without invitation, to the assembly, to say, that the most dangerous enemies of the state were those who raised doubts of his loyalty. He then returned to his *tripot monarchique*, in the palace, the den of all crimes; and, with Jezebel and his court, combined and ripened every species of perfidy.

" If it be proved, that he was constantly perjured, and a counter-revolutionist, tell me at what period he was a constitutional king. What! he who incessantly endeavoured to mislead public opinion, to abase the legislators, to paralyse the national will, to crush liberty, to lacerate the bosom of his country, to starve and murder a people who had heaped honours on his head, and who economised the mite of misery to satisfy him: this man to have

been king of a generous people! No: he was never any thing more than their executioner. Thus he is a *prisoner of war* to us, and ought to be treated as an enemy *.

" Here let me invoke all the martyrs in the cause of liberty, who have fallen in the last three years. Is there a relation or friend of our brethren immolated on the frontier, or on the 10th of August, who has not a right to drag the mangled bodies to the feet of Lewis XVI., and say to him, This is *your work* . . . . ? And is not this man to be judged? . . . . The penal code, the constitution, and the laws of nature, absolutely command it.

" I disapprove however of the punishment of death, and trust that this remnant of barbarity will disappear from our laws. Similar in every point to other criminals, Lewis Capet must partake of the benefit of the law, if you abrogate the pain of death; *you will then condemn him to existence*, that the horror of his crimes may incessantly besiege him, and pursue him in the silence of solitude. The historian, who shall *engrave* his crimes, may easily paint him at a single touch. At the Tuileries, thousands of men were murdered by his order; he listened to the thunder of cannon vomiting carnage and death on the citizens, and was gratified. His treason has at length worked our deliverance; and, in thanking heaven that we have had a Lewis XVI., we ought perhaps, *in love* to every oppressed people, to wish them similar kings.

" Legislators, cast your eyes on the actual state of Europe, delivered over to the pillage of nine or ten fami-

* The law of nations then forbad his being put to death.

lies; filled with despots and slaves, she resounds with the sighs of the one and with the scandal of the other. But reason fires the alarm-gun against tyrants; sensible men ask her what kings are; and all the monuments of history depose, that royalty and liberty, like the principles of the Manicheans, are in perpetual strife. Kings, a class of purulent beings, were ever the leprosy of governments, and the scum of the human species. Thousands and millions, immolated to their atrocious quarrels, seem to raise their voice from the silence of the tombs, and cry for *vengeance*."

The abbé Grégoire concluded with observing, that Lewis ought to be tried; that he should be brought to the bar and heard; and that a committee should be charged with the act of accusation. "In this discourse of a priest and a bishop," said the partisans of opposite opinions, "there wants some of the decency of his cloth, and the horror of bloodshed which the canons prescribe to him." The protestant Paine published a corrective of Grégoire's speech, which had been dictated by the resentment of a bishop, whose enemy Lewis had refused to destroy, by not sanctioning the well-known decrees.

"An hundred thousand of our brethren will then have spilled their blood," said Camille Desmoulins, "to leave the field to the aristocrats! No, no; it is not when the most generous defenders of the republic have thus sealed our cause, that we can put its stability in question. If you would remind the nation of the tyrant's crimes, and wish to decide by the number of voices, restore the heroes of the 14th of July, the 10th of August, and those of Valmy and Gemappe, to life. I demand, that the convention declare Capet to have merited death;

and that they decree a scaffold to be erected in the square of the *Carrousel*, to which Lewis shall be led with an inscription containing these words in front: *Perjured and traitorous to the nation*; and on the back, KING; and, that the royal vault at St. Denis be henceforward the sepulchre of robbers, traitors, and assassins."

Carra, who boasted of having organised the 10th of August, wished Lewis to be condemned, by the *lex talionis*, to the punishment incurred by the assassinations perpetrated by his order, and in his name, on that day.

Tallien demanded, that the king should be declared a traitor to his country, an assassin of an hundred thousand citizens, and an usurper of the sovereignty.

Lequinio said, "If with this hand I could assassinate every tyrant by a single blow, I would do it." One deputy, whose name is forgotten, said, "If the pain of death was not already established, it ought to be so expressly for Lewis."

When they had exhausted every ferocious opinion, it was decreed, that Lewis should be heard at the bar. Legendre then demanded, that the greatest silence should be observed when he appeared. "The silence of the tombs," said he, "should affright the guilty." Defermont, on the contrary, cited the law which permits the accused to be seated; and he obtained a seat for him. This demand, made at a moment of ferocity, and when every kind of decency towards an unhappy person, so illustrious as Lewis XVI., was laid aside, deserves to be recorded in history. "Lewis Capet, wait for your orders!" said Santerre, leading him to the president. The king appeared undaunted, and answered laconically, but with wisdom and modesty. Treilhard asked, if he might be allowed coun-

sel; when some of the deputies arose, and demanded an adjournment. Marat cried, "they would have no court-chicanery." Pétion, however, obtained leave for the king to choose counsel; and Cambacérès, that Malesherbes, who had offered his services, should be accepted. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze, on the refusal of Target, sacrificed themselves to his defence.

A few Frenchmen, out of the convention, also defended the king's cause. A young man of great sensibility, genius, and invention, Mariginier, published, at the commencement of the business, a pamphlet in his favour. The abbé Corbin, preceptor to the first dauphin, son of Lewis XVI., wrote an extremely pathetic picture of the monarch. Lally Tollendal, as early as the 5th of November, had applied to the national assembly, from London, to have the honour of defending him; his discourse is a *chef-d'œuvre* of affectionate sentiments. Pichois, Huet de Guerville, and Sourdat, ex-lieutenant-general of the police at Troye, solicited the same permission. Lauraquais, Guillaume, a lawyer, Dugour, a bookseller, Mazo d'Entraignes, Riston, Larocque, valet-de-chambre to the *ci-devant* queen, and a few others, ventured, in this terrible crisis, to publish and sign their opinions in favour of the king. A woman also, Olympia de Gouges, asked permission to join Malesherbes.

In London, a patriotic society published its conviction, that it was sufficient that Lewis was conquered, and a prisoner at the discretion of the convention, to satisfy the disaffected French; and a great number of Frenchmen settled there, subscribed an affecting address to disarm his judges.

Narbonne also, one of the king's ex-ministers, undertook

his defence at London, and Bertrand de Moleville threatened to publish the infamy of Danton, sold to Lewis XVI., if he did not give the defence its proper effect.

M. Necker too hastened to publish a master-piece of eloquence and sentiment in favour of Lewis. This work was loaded with abuse both by the royalists of 1788, and the revolutionists, equally incensed against the late director of the finances.

The terrified powers of Europe, watchful and silent, appeared insensible to the fate of the unhappy monarch. There were few European princes who did not behold, as it were, their own blood spilled on the scaffold. The king was related by his consort, and by the wives of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV., to the house of Austria; by the duchess of Burgundy to the house of Savoy; by his own blood to the duke of Parma, and the kings of Naples and Spain. The latter employed Castillian honour, with much address, to soften his judges; but they were inexorable. Fanaticism, on this occasion, proved more powerful than cupidity. The majority, who put the king to death, only gained the victory over the minority by five votes; and I am in possession of proofs, that fear of the future and some well-timed observations having gained over five or six deputies of my acquaintance, it was not impossible to have composed an opposite majority; but the mountain, in that case, resolved to suffer the Brutuses of the day to enter the temple, and include the mother and her children in the massacre.

CHAP. III.

Sentiments of Lewis under these Circumstances.

THIS prince, whom we have seen the passive instrument of M. de Maurepas, in 1774, to establish the parliaments in favour of liberty; the passive instrument, in 1781, of the queen his spouse, at the death of Maurepas; of Lomenie and Lamoignon, in 1785, for establishments of despotism; and of M. Necker, in 1788, for the institution of a constituent assembly; now exhibited, in the last moments of his existence, the fortitude of a man, and the resignation of a christian.

"*Abandoned by the whole universe,*" said he in his will, "I HAVE NONE BUT GOD TO WHOM I CAN ADDRESS MYSELF. Shut up with my family in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by those who were my subjects, and implicated in a process, of which it is impossible for me to foresee the issue, in the presence of God I declare my last wishes and sentiments. I die in the union of our holy catholic, apostolic, and roman church.... I pray to God to receive my deep repentance, for having affixed my name,

though against my will, to any acts which may be contrary to the discipline of the catholic faith, to which I have ever remained sincerely attached. I request those whom I may have *inadvertently* offended (for I do not remember to have given offence to any one knowingly), and those I may have unjustly charged with faults, to pardon the injury they suppose me to have done them.

" I forgive, with all my heart, all those who have been my enemies, without having received from me any injury; and I pray God to pardon them, as well as those who have done me great harm.

" I commend to the Almighty, my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by ties of blood. I pray God to look upon my wife, my children, and my sister, who suffer with me, with an eye of mercy, and to support them with his grace, if they happen to lose me.

" I commend my children to my wife. I have never doubted her maternal tenderness for them. I exhort her, particularly, to make them good christians, and honest members of society; to cause them to look upon the grandeurs of this world, if they should be condemned to experience them, as dangerous and perishable treasures; and to direct their attention towards the

only solid and durable glory of eternity. I entreat my sister, to continue her tenderness to my children, and to supply the place of a mother, if they should have the misfortune to lose their's.

" I beseech my wife to pardon all the misery she suffers on my account, and all the vexations I may have occasioned her in the course of our union; as she may be sure, that, should she think she has any thing to reproach herself with, I have no such feeling or remembrance .....

" I recommend to my son, if he should be unfortunate enough to become king, to reflect, that he must devote himself to the happiness of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and resentment, especially what may relate to the misfortunes and crosses I experience; that he can only ensure the happiness of the people by reigning according to the laws; but, at the same time, that a king cannot cause them to be respected, and accomplish the good intentions of his heart, but in proportion as he possess a necessary authority; and that otherwise, confined in his operations, and unable to inspire respect, he is more prejudicial than useful.

" I recommend to my son to take care of every person attached to me, as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself will permit. There are some among those who were about me, that have not conducted themselves

towards me as they ought to have done, and have been ungrateful: I forgive them, and I entreat my son, if he find occasion, only to think of their distress.

" I request the gentlemen of the commune to deliver to Cléri my effects, books, watch, purse, and the rest of the little articles that were deposed at the council of the commune.

" I forgive the ill-treatment of those who had the care of me in my captivity, and the harsh restriction they thought themselves bound to practise towards me. I have found some compassionate souls; may they enjoy that tranquillity in their hearts which their manner of thinking must impart to them.

" I request Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze, to accept my sincere thanks, and the warmest expression of sensibility, for all the care and trouble they have given themselves on my account.

" I conclude, by declaring before God, and as ready to appear in his presence, that I have not to reproach myself with any of the crimes laid to my charge."

" Duplicate, done at the Temple, on the 25th of December, 1792:

(Signed) LEWIS."

What a deplorable, what a wretched end, would that of Lewis, the first *potentate of Europe*, have been, if, abandoned by contemporary princes, inhumanly persecuted by the administration of one of them, forgotten by the whole universe, and conducted to the scaffold by those who were formerly his subjects, the christian religion had not been his last consolation!

CHAP. IV.

Death of Lewis XVI.

LEWIS dedicated his last moments to acts of piety and devotion, in which there was neither weakness nor vanity. "Those who entertain any friendship for me," said he to Cléri, "ought to rejoice, at seeing me arrived at the end of so many sufferings." He performed his last christian duties with piety and fortitude. As they were leading him to the scene of execution, he recited the prayers appointed for persons in their last moments.

On his arrival at the foot of the scaffold, he finished his orisons, took off his coat and cravat, untied his hair, and opened his shirt to expose his neck and shoulders. He then threw himself on his knees, to receive from his confessor the absolution, *in articulo mortis*. As he rose to ascend the scaffold, his confessor himself fell on his knees, and exclaimed, as if by inspiration, "Go, son of St. Lewis, ascend to heaven!" Arrived on the scaffold, Lewis looked steadfastly at the instrument of death; one of the executioners tied his hands and cut off his hair: when he said to the people, in an elevated tone of voice, "I die perfectly innocent of all the

pretended crimes they have charged me with, and I forgive my enemies....." Santerre, giving the signal for the drums to beat a roll, replied, "I have not brought you here to harangue, but to die." The three executioners then seized the person of Lewis, and tied him to the instrument with leather straps; his head was instantly struck off, and held up to the populace amid the cries of *Vive la liberté et la république!* Several persons, having gathered, with pieces of linen, some drops and threads of blood, which fell on the ground and on the scaffold, they afterwards caused a representation of the nails which fixed Christ to the cross, and some *sacrés cœurs* to be engraved, and coloured them with the blood of Lewis. My collection contains several copies of these.

The abbé Le Duc, an acknowledged son of Lewis XV. and madame de Cavanac, had the courage to ask the convention for the body of his uncle. It was however carried, without coffin, to the burying-ground of *la Magdelaine*, thrown without any funeral ceremony into a grave, and covered over with quick-lime.

Then was accomplished the prediction made to the king, at the beginning of his reign, by Turgot, one of his ministers, in the following terms:

I conjure your majesty to be on your guard

against weakness; it is the principal cause of the wretchedness of the people, and the misfortune of kings. It was weakness, sire, that brought Charles I. to the scaffold.

What a lesson for kings and for people led on to catastrophes of this nature!

Now also were fully gratified the inexorable party in England, that had appeared the most offended at the imprudent boasting of those in our department for foreign affairs, who, in the American manifesto, dared to reproach George III., whose empire they were dismembering, with the death of Charles I., and the despoiling of the house of Stuart.

In France, the ruling party, that had almost unanimously declared Lewis to be guilty, did not enjoy in peace the fruits of the sentence.

After the king's death, the girondins and montagnards were seen destroying each other. The victory of the 31st of May was in favour of the latter.

The ruling montagnards shortly lost the benefit of their ephemeral triumph. Composed of cordeliers and the people of Robespierre's faction, they murdered each other by the interlude of a revolutionary tribunal. The 10th of Thermidor assured the victory to the most daring, and, till that time, the most revolutionary party. The most cruel was defeated.

The thermidorians did not reign long. Composed of a coalition of girondins, cordeliers, and every cast of moderate opinions, they shot on the 1st Prairial the populace of the suburbs, the men of the 10th of August and the 31st of May, together with the citizens of Paris.

They again acted the same part on the 13th Vendémiaire.

These sanguinary contests were entered into under pretence of establishing or preserving liberty and equality; but the real cause was a desire to seize the government or retain it, to destroy their enemies and reign in peace.

A directory arose out of this revolutionary and murderous mechanism, which had been destroying the human species by degrees ever since 1789. These new tyrants used the revolutionary scourge with more rigour than their predecessors.

The directory decimated the French of the party of Grenelle by the faction of Clichy: and on the 18th Fructidor they transported the faction of Clichy by the help of that of Grenelle.

The intermediate site, which for ten years past had been chosen by these strange revolutionary governors, was, and will ever be, the post of ruin to every government that shall place thereon its destiny.

France at length found a liberator who discomposed this frightful revolutionary machine. Let us examine what ideas may assist his views on the subject of social restoration. History would be an illusory science, if it did not contribute to render men better.

CHAP. V.

Historical Examination of the Power of Parties against the Revolution. Table of the Increase, Stability, and Term of the French Revolution.

THERE is nothing so remarkable in the analytical study of the French revolution, as the efforts of the revolutionists, since 1789, to establish their power.

No one of the parties imagined, that any destruction or revolutionary measure, to the prejudice of the opposite party, would at all influence the establishment and stability of their own power; although there resulted a constant opposition, from the exercise of their revolutionary force, at each new act of violence exercised even on the party disarmed, vanquished, transported, or proscribed.

For instance, by uniting the orders into one chamber, by making decrees to the taste of the majority, and by despising the aristocratic institution of a legal minority, which they took pains to abase, they thought of annihilating discord, and that a common interest thenceforward would predominate in France; whilst

by the side of these democratic institutions there arose a reactionary force, which death and proscriptions have been able to terrorise and render more silent, without ever destroying it. The natural compassion of mankind has constantly granted, to illustrious persons persecuted, a place in the national pity, and a tacit protection.

Who would not have thought, that, after the 2d of September 1792, after the horrible massacre of the most illustrious, learned, and venerable clergy of France, that the Gallican church was for ever wasted and annihilated? whereas religion was never so well established in France as after these sanguinary catastrophes. The French revolutionists, like the Roman emperors, only forced the christians momentarily to take refuge in their modern catacombs.

Accordingly, in proportion as the tyrants thought of destroying in France the freedom of worship, the love of religion, that wished to maintain it, a love which no power will ever be able to crush in the mind, preserved and re-edified, on its part, what tyranny had destroyed.

What ravages did the dreadful hatred of aristocracy, infused into the *tiers-état* in 1788, by the reports and measures of Mr. Necker, produce amongst the class of rich proprietaries? Observe at this day how the aristocracy, strengthened by property, by the active

genius of Frenchmen in commerce and the arts, by the want of workmen, and the dependence of the poor, by degrees recovers from its wounds, and rises from its humiliations. It will again terminate in France by extending its fraternal arms to democracy, that they may lend each other assistance in the grand definitive restoration of society, which the public mind, which nature herself is preparing for our unfortunate country.

Was it not said, that our judges, elected by the people, and our departmental administrations, would insure democracy an immortal existence; and that the parliaments, those fleeting shadows of Mirabeau, were scourges of the human species, because the magistrates were established for life?

Did not Mr. Necker's principle of giving every Frenchman a share in the provincial administrations appear to promise in France the most perfect institutions? Yet, behold the ruins of the departments during administrations of ten years, organised by the votes of the people. Behold also, in the institution of elective democracies, justice torn from vanquished factions, and individual oppressions tolerated in favour of the victorious parties.

The annexed table indicates the progress and increase of the French revolution. It was

FIFTH ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF THE VICISSITUDES OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,

EXHIBITING THE VICISSITUDES OF THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

Intended as an Explanation of the two preceding Tables, but may be Read separately as a Work complete in itself.

That the French Revolution, instead of establishing a constitutional Monarchy in 1789, as a Democracy in 1792, by the universal Desire of the ardent Governors, and successfully organized, by the aid of such revolutionary Operations, a despotic Government, Oligarchy, and revolutionary Tyranny, so that at the establishment of the Consulate there existed in France thirteen different kinds of governments against the State, resulting from the Ultimates gained by the Jacobins over the opposite Parties, and from them to the opposite Parties over the Jacobins.

Forming an appropriate Pendant to the Analysis of the Revolutions of the Roman Empire.

SIXTH AND LAST ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF THE

MECHANISM

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

Representing the Progress of the Consulate in the Restoration of the Administration, & the Reorganization of Government, and in the Re-establishment of the Tranquility of France in 1804 and at home.

(To face Page 995, Vol. IV.)

thought, that the ardour of patriotism and the multiplication of revolutionary measures were the supporters and pillars of the modern edifice. Each offensive decree, directed against the vanquished party, constituted an armed opposition, by the side of the ephemeral victory, against the dominant party.

Thus, during the ten first years of the revolution, we have seen reactions increased in proportion as revolutionary acts were established. The 14th of July animated the old against the new government. The fall of the clergy added its opposition to the preceding reactive party. The abolition of constitutional royalty, without annihilating the anterior parties, added to the resentment of the constituents, whose destruction was intended. Every revolutionary and counter-revolutionary day established a new and active power in opposition to government. A revolutionary administration could only have venal and mechanical powers in its service in the interior, because a revolutionary government is evidently in opposition to the wishes, interests, and character of the nation: so that, on the eve of the establishment of the consulate, the destructive passions of the constituents, girondins, montagnards, thermidorians, and directors, had brought the country to such a situation, that the directory were at that period in

a state of litigation with the remains of the ancient *régime*, the remains of the nobility, and the refractory and constitutional clergy, with the orleanists and constituents, with the great continental and maritime powers, with the departments of the west, with the emigrants, who, in spite of the greatest vigilance, returned to excite troubles, with the democrats themselves, and with the revolutionists of all casts, who only found in them a tyrannical government, instead of an administrative power capable of neutralising revolutionary passions. This directory had recently organised devastation and divisions almost in the heart of the weak republics in alliance with us, and had menaced the most sacred rights of property. They were no more than a lamp of which every vital principle had been exhaled; they were no longer any thing but a mere machine, and all the force of the state was armed, in different oppositions, against them. The present director of these forces perceived this truth, and united them into a form of government, whose wounds are insensibly and perhaps too quickly healing.

CHAP. VI.

Historical Examination of the Force of the Republic. Table of the Instability of its Partisans and Factions.

THE preceding historical table shows, that the more the French revolutionists attempted to destroy, the more the objects destroyed acquired refractory force.

The more the revolutionists abused their power, the more they exhausted their authority.

This truth is conspicuous in the conduct of all the most celebrated revolutionists, without exception. It appears in the parties who have successively taken the reins of government; and, finally, it appears in the two periods of the revolution, increasing till the 10th Thermidor, and decreasing from that period, which momentarily modified the affections of the nation itself.

Observe what zeal and warmth M. la Fayette exhibited, in constituting us in 1789. He accepts the command of the armed force of the revolution, which he organizes in opposition to the armed force of the ancient royal authority: he abjures on the altar of

the country his prerogatives of nobility: he speaks of an insurrection as of a most religious duty: and he presents to the assembly the code which the anarchists have so much abused, *the declaration of the rights of man.* He constitutes Lewis XVI. his prisoner at the Tuileries, and there guards him; but his authority is scarcely established, when he writes to Bouillé in the language of secret repentance, the language of administration, and the language of repressing new insurrections. Finally, in concert with the revisors, he orders the first petitioners for the king's dethronement to be shot in the *Champ-de-Mars.*

Observe, in the second line, the crafty Brissot, carrying on the agitations commenced by the constituents; absolving the assassins of the *glacière;* sequestering a third part of the surface of our country, by the decree for the sale of the property of emigrants; permitting the destruction of country seats; making De Lessart, and Montmorin his prisoners, &c. No sooner does he find himself one of the principals of the majority, which he institutes by the measures of the 20th of June, than he becomes tractable. After the 10th of August he endeavours to save the king, and would willingly have destroyed his companions of anarchy and confusion. He perishes with them in this dan-

gerous contest, and merits from the party for which he sacrificed himself, the forgiveness of his anterior perfidy.

Who would have thought, that, among the cordeliers, the frightful Danton and his associates, the organisers of the massacres of the 2d of September, had the least flexibility in their nature? They are the first, nevertheless, to speak the language of clemency, and meditate a re-action before the 10th Thermidor.

Who could believe, that Robespierre himself prepared the thermidorian re-action; and that, after having presided at the butchery of the second year, he meditated, as soon as he should be able to deliver himself from the cordeliers, an insurrection of the moderate parties, and a dominion founded on some sort of toleration? The jealousy of the thermidorians, and their danger, destroyed the monster.

We have seen the furious Legendre, who wished to distribute the different members of the body of Lewis XVI. among the departments; Thuriot, who froze the whole capital with terror and dismay by his domiciliary visits; André Dumont, celebrated for his ferocity; and the rest of the agitators of the people, who merely overturned the different governments to answer their own purposes, departing from their general character so far as, in order to preserve an ephemeral au-

thority, to call in after the 10th of August the royalists and the aristocrats, to repress, imprison, and destroy their companions and their revolutionary instruments.

There is not a constituent, girondin, montagnard, or thermidorian, so robust, so confident in his horrible opinions, as not to be more or less reconciled in the end to systems of conservation and administrative measures.

On another side, there is no revolutionary faction, but has experienced two decompositions; *the purely mechanical decomposition*, or the division and separation of the measures which compose it; and *the chymical decomposition*, by which the individuals of each party experience in their anterior morals, and in their party zeal, so great an alteration, that we no longer perceive in them neither the same genus, the same species, nor the same revolutionary individual.

Hence, on the 13th Vendémiaire, the party of the girondin Louvet destroyed the girondin party of La Rivière; and hence we have seen him act in concert with the thermidorian Fréron, who on that day shot the thermidorian party of Rovère.

Hence, on the 13th Vendémiaire, we saw the mountain and the gironde, who had been murdering each other, unite again to assist in destroy-

ing the individuals forming the momentary opposition.

Hence, on the 18th Fructidor, we observed the girondins of the party of Réveillère, and the thermidorians of the party of Tallien, transporting the girondin Aubri and Saladin, as well as the thermidorian Bourdon de l'Oise, &c.

Hence, neither the individuals the most determined in their factions, nor the most active parties, who have shown so much energy in seizing an ephemeral government which perished in their hands, have obtained that stability which we have observed in the ancient suffering parties in opposition to the revolution. The revolutionary factions, and their individuals, are no more, and the aristocratic parties, transported and shot, are exclusively endowed with the refractory force. Insult and activity are exhausted. Inertitude alone and oppression have outlived the storm. Factions have passed over like destructive tempests, spreading desolation and death on our fields; to which succeeds the return of serenity and elemental repose.

France herself, at first infatuated with revolutions, and since with counter-revolutions, seeing her sons devouring each other, seeing the different jacobinical families victorious on the 14th of July, the 5th of October, the 20th of

June, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, 1793, the 31st of May, the 13th Vendémiaire, and the 18th Fructidor, has only witnessed, in these defeats, a deplorable butchery of the family.

Seeing, on another side, in the three days of the Champ-de-Mars, the 10th Thermidor, and the 1st Prairial, three defeats in an opposite sense, she has finally acknowledged the misery of her situation, and the danger of her fate. She has now to avoid the greatest misfortunes; that of a sanguinary and definitive re-action, similar to the revenge of the Stuarts recalled without guarantee to England, and the terrible revenge of Carolina, at the retreat of Championnet.

CONCLUSION.

AUTHORITY, under the reign of Lewis, would have risen victoriously from the strife and contests which beset her on every side, if the government had been constantly intrusted to persons disposed to support it, or if the prince had adopted some plan of policy, and exhibited a will capable of execution. Glaring abuses had crept into the administration of ancient France, and the opposition was formidable; yet this administration was burthened with less vices, than those of the other European powers; and it would have still existed, such as it is described in the table of this volume, page 313; it would even have triumphed over every opposition, had it not been for the concourse of so many errors and capital faults. In fact, how could the ancient *régime* exist when the opposition dared to take possession of the seat of government, and seize its power?

Observe the old and indolent Maurepas confiding the power of opposition to an exiled parliament, who, after they had again obtained

their situations, only sought to humiliate the royal authority by which they had been struck. Observe that superannuated man, without the least foresight, confiding the administration to reforming ministers; now to Turgot, desirous of establishing in the heart of a vicious population the reign of the ancient virtues; now to Necker, inoculating France with Anglo-Genevese manners and institutions, to the prejudice of the national establishments best adapted to our soil, and to our European and relative situation.

A princess, naturally frivolous and inconsequent, surrounded by detestable favourites, forgetting all dignity, proud of her birth, and more attached to her family than to her husband or son, accustomed to dilapidate the revenues of the state, and suspected by the nation, took possession, in the interval of a ministerial interregnum, of the preponderating power. Finding authority weakened, she attempted to strengthen it under Loménie by political intrigue, and thereby excited against her, in 1788, all the orders of the monarchy. The *tiers-état*, separately, is still null; but it ranges itself in the ranks of the revolted state-countries; it unites its means with those of the leading men, the clergy, nobility and parliaments, who vociferously and unanimously demand a termination of abuses, the return of the regal

power within its legitimate boundaries, the repeal of the parliaments, and the dissolution of the plenary court, which government had dared to substitute in their stead.

There was at that time in France but *one* public opinion; that of the clergy, the nobility, the magistracy, and the *tiers-état.*

What maleficent genius, then, at that time, threw obstacles in the way of the truly national opinion and zeal of Frenchmen united against despotism? Observe, in that principal circumstance of the king's weakness, both England and Austria domineering in the secret councils of the queen. The duke of Dorset, resident at Versailles, lives with her upon the most intimate terms, fans the embers of discord, and begins afar off the revolution. His first and principal intent is to break off the Austrian alliance, which disconcerts the secret plans of England against France, and his second to revolutionize us.

Count de Mercy, on another side, observing Maria-Antoinetta assailed by the first revolutionists, establishes her at the head of the opposite party. Even as early as 1788 it was easy to perceive, that France was touching upon a catastrophe.

In this state of degradation of our cabinet, it was no longer possible to be a minister in France

without the consent of Austria and England; and the evil destiny of the state contrived, that a foreigner, agreeable to both those parties, should take the reins of power. Mercy, disappointed, and anxious to extricate his sovereign from a dangerous situation, gives to Loménie a cardinal's hat, and the administration to Mr. Necker. Read, on this subject, the kind of political testament of Loménie, retired to Sens. But the Genevese minister, instead of submitting to the Austrian party, instead even of ranging himself with the French nation, at that time in insurrection against the abuses of power, in consequence of the secret and monstrous copulation of France, England and Austria, in the cabinet of Versailles, excites the nation against herself, and broaches a public opinion different from that of the six first months of 1788, by separating the orders from the *tiers-état*, so intimately united in the general and unanimous coalition against the court. Detested by the great, the clergy, the nobility and the parliaments, he sets up against the king and the monarchy a constituent assembly, the majority of which is chosen from among the presbyterians and the *tiers-état*. He gives power and influence to the lowest classes, and to those disaffected to the monarchy. He sacrifices the party of the queen, now possessing but a fragile authority,

to the party of England, who are distributing money to cause a revolution. He destroys the monarchical and national revolution of 1788, in favour of the democratic revolution which he organizes; he destroys and abuses the institutions, which the wisdom of ages had suggested for the preservation and happiness of states; he infuses into the blood of Frenchmen all the revolutions of the city of Geneva, his native place; so that, in the course of ten years we have experienced the whole series of revolutions which, for many centuries, have tormented his unfortunate country. He found France royal and aristocratic, without democracy; at his departure, he left it entirely democratic, with an humiliated king, and without aristocracy.

The reins of authority, which we have seen pass, under a weak king, from the hands of M. de Maurepas into those of Vergennes and the queen, are afterwards transferred from Mr. Necker to the chiefs of the new democracy. Here terminates the ancient *régime*, and the new government commences. It was thought, by the unanimity of votes in 1789, that the period of happiness was at length arrived. Never was any thing more brittle than that unanimity. The revolutionists were, in 1789, an aggregation of constituents, girondins and montagnards, who brought about three

revolutions, for no other purpose than to seize or retain the government.

The constituents, finding a weak and undetermined prince, had taken from him all executive authority.

The girondins, in destroying constitutional royalty, delivered him over to the montagnards, who put him to death.

Here is a lesson for European governments, and for humanity herself, suffering from the violence of these revolutions.

ANSWER

Of the Author of these Memoirs to the Abbé BARRUEL, *Author of a Work entitled, "Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism, and of the Genevese d'Ivernois, a Refugee in London, and one of the Chiefs of the Secret Committee for revolutionising France."*

THE abbé Barruel had no other intention, in the publication of his work, than to mislead if he could the public mind on the secret causes of the revolution, which are confined to the obscure plots of five or six English families, without the knowledge of George III.

The abbé Barruel accuses the philosophers, the illuminati, and the free-masons.

The philosophers have undoubtedly contributed to our misfortunes by the boldness of their opinions, which they have spread among the people; but to say positively, like the abbé Barruel, that they intended to plunge their country into the abyss of misery, from which it is not yet entirely extricated, and that they affected it by a regular conspiracy, is calumniating personages celebrated for their humanity and patriotism. If Turgot, Malesherbes, Diderot, Loménie, Raynal, &c. have erred, their er-

rors were those of the mind and imagination. Their hearts were ever upright, and attached to France.

The abbé Barruel attributes also the revolution to the illuminati and free-masons. These associations had no other views than those of beneficence and humanity, or pleasure. Individuals may have been violent in their zeal, as in all other societies and parties; but there has never been the least connection between the fraternities of illuminati and masons, and the French revolution, of which many illustrious masons, at every period, and under all the parties, have been made victims.

The abbé Barruel, imitating the Genevese refugees in England, who attribute to France the disasters of their country, though it is demonstrated, that the misery of our nation is partly the work of the Genevese, accuses Dupont de Nemours with causing the Genevese revolution of 1782. I attest, from all the documents of legation, that this citizen never interfered in that revolution. "It was reserved," says Barruel in the 6th chapter of the 2d volume, "first for Clavières, and next for Robespierre, to resume the work of the philosophers, which the count de Vergennes had destroyed at Geneva; and to send the *apostate Soulavie* to consummate it, by proscriptions, exile, and all

the means of philosophy taken from the castle of Ferney to the den of the jacobins."

In this assertion there are as many falsehoods as words. It is not true, that Clavières and Robespierre sent the apostate to Geneva to consummate the work of philosophy.

1st, Because this apostate was nominated to the legation of Geneva in the month of May, 1793, by the same act which nominated Semonville to Constantinople, Marat to Naples, and Chauvelin to Florence. Now, Clavières and Robespierre, instead of amusing themselves with sending the apostate to Geneva for the purpose of proscription, were notoriously employed at that period in proscribing each other.

2dly, The contest between Clavières and Robespierre having left the latter victorious, it is not true, that he sent the same apostate to execute proscriptions at Geneva; because Robespierre in 1793 was neither a member of the executive council, who named the legations, nor a member of the committee of public safety, then established about two months, which confirmed them. Robespierre at that time was at variance both with the council and the committee, which he did not enter till the month of August following. Thus Robespierre, instead of influencing the elections of the month of May, reprobated them.

3dly, It is not true, that Robespierre, even after he had entered the committee, commanded the apostate, already arrived at Geneva, to make proscriptions; for he himself was proscribed by a decree of destitution, on account of papers shown to Robespierre by some inhuman clerks, which was followed by personal detention. The following is an instrumental proof of it, dated the 16th Frimaire:

"The committee of public safety, from the report made to them by the minister for foreign affairs, decree that citizen Soulavie, resident of the French republic at Geneva, shall be recalled without delay, and that the mission with which he was charged in the Genevese republic shall be confided to citizen *Rivals*. The minister for foreign affairs is charged with the execution of the present decree, of which he will render an account.

"(Signed) BILLAUD-VARENNES,
ROBESPIERRE,
CARNOT,
BARRERE,
ROBERT LINDET."

Now, according to the reports and dispatches which have been remitted to me by government for my lawful defence, this decree was issued at the request of the Genevese, who, being the ex-

administrators of the English subsidy of fifty thousand pounds sterling, were alarmed at my official remonstrances at Geneva against sending to Lyons, by order of England, the necessary sums to the party of Chalier, *to destroy the party of shopkeepers*; and to the latter an equivalent sum, *for them to destroy the jacobins.*

4thly, It is not true, that the apostate sent to Geneva was the author of any banishment or revolutionary proscription; on the contrary, it is very well known, that, according to the same acts which he holds from the French government, he has been recalled from Geneva by the very author of the suspected laws, and by his colleagues, from the denunciations of the president, and the members of the revolutionary tribunal of the Genevese club of insurgents. The following is an instrumental proof of it, dated the 22d Fructidor, year 2:

I. "The committee of public safety decree, that the powers of Soulavie, envoy of the French republic at Geneva, are revoked.

"(Signed)

MERLIN,	ROBERT LINDET,
(DD) THURIOT,	BREARD,
TREILHARD,	LALOY,
J. F. B. DELMAS,	CARNOT."

The principal crimes of the apostate, according to these documents, are, the having granted a momentary asylum to an outlawed Frenchman, protecting an emigrant lady, and displeasing the Anglo-Genevese revolutionary government. The same reports and complaints which occasioned my destitution signed Robespierre, served for my destitution signed Merlin. There was no other difference, than that Merlin executed what Robespierre had ordered, to please the chiefs of the Genevese clubs of insurgents. See the notes and documents at the end of the fifth volume of this work. Thus, instead of being the proscriber at Geneva, Soulavie was proscribed there by the clubs; and instead of being proscriber in the name of Robespierre, Robespierre had proscribed him.

Since the abbé Barruel and the Genevese d'Ivernois are determined to be busy with me in their writings, I shall publish the rest of the papers relating to my conduct. Instead of *supposing*, they may then see before them both facts and dates. The colleagues of d'Ivernois, his revolutionary companions, his ancient associates in the administration of the English subsidy, his agents for the devastation of Lyons, had obtained the decree mentioned above under Robespierre. The following decrees were issued, 1st, in consequence

of the same documents; 2dly, at the instance of the same Genevese syndics; and 3dly, from those of the revolutionary tribunal, which pillaged and decimated Geneva. How many titles, to please the author of the law of suspected persons in France!

II. "The committee of public safety, charged with the direction of exterior relations, decree, that citizen Adet, envoy of the French republic to that of Geneva, will take the necessary measures to cause citizen Soulavie, whose powers are revoked, to be arrested and sent to France, *that he may be heard* at the committee. He shall put seals to his papers.

"(Signed)

MERLIN (DD),	TREILHARD,
THURIOT,	LALOY,
DELMAS,	ROBERT LINDET,
CARNOT,	BRÉARD."

III. "The committee of public safety decree, that citizen *Soulavie, ci-devant* envoy of the French republic to that of Geneva, shall be conducted to the house Talaru, *rue de la Loi*, where he shall remain in a state of arrestation, till further orders, and that a private apartment

shall be allowed him, to draw up the account he is to give of his mission.

" (Signed)

MERLIN, (DD), who declares he was present and had participated in the deliberation),
THURIOT (the same),
TREILHARD (the same),
DELMAS (the same),
R. LINDET (the same),
CARNOT (the same)."

The first decree of these citizens took away my place, the second my papers, the third my liberty. The first and second decrees took away the liberty of remaining in Switzerland, where these gentlemen, who have a natural aversion for history, feared to see their usurped authority delivered, in a free country, to the abhorrence of nations, by one additional writer. The second decree announced, it is true, some clemency, that of *hearing* me; but they have never yet either seen or heard me. The third decree granted me a chamber at Talaru, to draw up a statement of my mission; another place entry, for they had my papers in their hands! This account of the last revolution of Geneva, and of the anterior revolutions, shall however be delivered; but it shall be to the eyes of all

Europe. It is become an elementary work on the misfortunes of Geneva, and of people who are unhappy enough to fall into the power of a covetous, jealous, and unbridled democracy, who dispose so strangely of the liberty, life, papers, and property, of citizens, that the seals of Merlin, Thuriot, and Treilhard, are still affixed, in the year 9, to such of my effects as escaped from their order-bearers at Geneva. A venerable old man, Dussaulx, after I had passed three months in prison, went and told them, that, having known me for twenty years, he would be answerable for my conduct. They became on this still more inexorable; they were happy in having prisoners in their power. My young spouse attempted to soften them, but she was treated with indecency; so much had the revolution hardened their hearts. It is necessary I should some day publicly show, since they have publicly offended me, that the epoch of my arrestation, instead of giving Merlin, Thuriot, and Treilhard, the right of keeping me in their dungeons, restored me to the blessings of liberty; and it is because they deprived me of it, that I am obliged to answer the malevolent writings of such men as Barruel and d'Ivernois, or rather the invisible author of the declamations of the latter against me; a man to whom I was ever a friend at Geneva.

These two last writers assert, that a decree of transportation had been issued against me by the consuls a few days after the transactions of St. Cloud. My name, in fact, was found confused with those of several estimable citizens, and with some septembrisers: but what convinces me, that the decree did not relate to myself is, that I never received any notification of it, and have neither been troubled by inspection nor arrest. If the authors of the decree had the intention of including me in the list, I am obliged to Bonaparte for having torn it before its execution. The two authors of the decree are also obliged to me for preserving their problematic intention in my present answer. Both of them had received from me a few days before some works very far from being calculated to entitle me to be classed with Mamin, the assassin of madame Lamballe, and with Aréna, the assassin of the first consul. Both of them, a few days before, had received my work, entitled *Mémoires de Barthelemi*, together with the different tables distributed in different parts of this work. In the first, I attempted to soften the furies still tormenting the persons transported on the 18th Fructidor. In the tables I demonstrated the urgency of neutralizing the factions then so animated

against the revolution and against the government itself. The reader may judge from these documents, if the authors of the decree had any right to send me to perish by degrees in the directorial Siberia; and if, on my refusing to depart, they had the further right of seizing my property and robbing my wife and children of it. I thank the proprietors of newspapers, who, on that occasion, took up my defence. I have imposed on my children the duty of acknowledging the obligation conferred on them by that act of honour and courage; and to bless the general, who, protecting the liberty and lives of Frenchmen, refused to espouse the furies which devastated France, and destroyed the scourge of proscription, that for ten years has degraded her.

FINIS.

Printed by J. Crowder, Warwick-Square; and S. Hamilton, Falcon-Court, Fleet-Street.

00037612

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 26 March, 2016